



GEN. WAYNE.

THE
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MILITARY REPOSITORY.

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By CHARLES SMITH.

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MILITARY REPOSITORY.

THE SEVEN YEARS WAR IN GERMANY.

(Continued from page 245-)

THE Russians within three weeks had gained two battles, yet the situation of the king was not thereby rendered the more precarious; for his disadvantages did not so much result from defeats, as from his being so far distant from Saxony and Silesia; of which circumstance, his enemies soon availed themselves. From both these provinces he was now cut off. A junction of the Russian and Austrian grand armies was to be expected. Daun and Soltikow held on that subject a conference at Guben, but nothing was concluded upon. The Russians remained in their camp near Furstenwalde.

At this time the king of Spain died, Ferdinand VI. Charles, the king of Naples, ascended the Spanish throne, and his son, of eight years old, that of Naples. The house of Austria had great pretensions to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; but never an opportunity of realizing them happened more seasonable. The monarch a child, the government in uncertain hands, the ministers without principles, the finances deranged, the troops small in number, and without discipline; to take possession appeared only necessary. Spain unacquainted with her monarch, and unprepared for a campaign; France exhausted in her resources, was incapable of sending troops into Italy; the subject was debated in the Secret Council of the Empress; but policy being subdued by private resentment, at the Court of Vienna, the precarious conquest of Silesia was preferred to the certain acquisition of two kingdoms.

The Austrians, as well as the troops of the Empire, had in the mean time entered Saxony, and taken Leipzig, Tor-

MILITARY REPOSITORY.

gau and Wittemberg. It was expected that Saxony would be liberated, Berlin conquered, and Magdeburg besieged. But nothing of all this took place. The king relying on his activity, and the tardiness of his enemies, with which they followed up their victories, was the day after the battle again full of confidence. A few days before this battle, he received by an officer, sent by Duke Ferdinand, the news of the victory of Minden. Frederic ordered the officer to wait, intending to send by him a similar information to the Duke. The officer appeared before the king the day after the action. "I am sorry, said the king, that the answer to so welcome news, is not so agreeable as I could wish; but if on your return, you do not find Daur at Berlin, and Contades at Magdeburg, you may assure the Duke that much is not lost."

Though the Russians derived from their victory no advantage, yet it produced to the king a chain of misfortunes. The first was the loss of Dresden. The Austrians, in the king's absence, united with the troops of the Empire, again besieged it. The Prussian commander, Smettan, was prepared for defence. General Guasco threatened to bombard the town from eighteen batteries. Smettan promised to answer it with an hundred cannon. But all at once the news of the action at Kunnersdorf arrived. The Austrian commander lost no time to represent to Smettan his perilous situation, and offering him an honorable capitulation. The Duke of *Deux Ponts*, also sent him word, that if the suburbs of Dresden should be burnt by the Prussians, the whole garrison should be put to the sword, and all the Prussian territories devastated. Smettan answered this compliment by ordering the suburbs to be set on fire. Disadvantageous as his situation was, a vigorous defence was expected; but a letter from Frederic deluded all.

The king, soon after the unfortunate battle, had informed him, that it would be very difficult to dislodge the Austrians, and compel them to raise the siege of Dresden; he should, therefore, in case of necessity, only take care of the treasury. Smettan now lost all hope, and his whole attention was bent on the safety of the money, amounting to above 5,000,000 dollars, which then was deposited in that place. The necessity, therefore, to save a quantity of metal, the want of which puts an end to all wars, and dis-

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organizes the bravest troops, brought Smettau to a decision. He was ignorant of the approach of a Prussian corps. But the besiegers who were well informed of the progress of that army and who thought already of withdrawing, forgot all menaces, and acceded to every condition which Smettau thought proper to propose. He was allowed by the capitulation, freely to withdraw the whole garrison, baggage, and money waggons.

The capitulation was just finished and signed by the Duke of *Deux Ponts*, and one gate taken possession of by the Austrians, when the Prussian Gen. Wunsh, after forced marches, arrived within five miles of Dresden. He announced his arrival by the firing of cannon. Ignorant of the capitulation, he resolved to storm the Austrian camp. His arrival re-animated the Prussians at Dresden, and many of the officers of the garrison were of opinion that the capitulation should be destroyed, and the troops who had possession of one of the gates, be driven out. But Smettau, still in fear for his money waggons, would not listen to his proposal, and Dresden was taken possession of by the Austrians. Wunsh then retreated. The capitulation, however, was violated, almost in all its parts by the Austrians, whose officers behaved in the most shameful manner. Smettau, at length, found means to get off in safety with his treasury and his garrison.

During this time, Prince Henry arrived with the main army from Silesia in Saxony, surprized the Austrian General Vehla, near Hugerwerda, and took him with 1800 men prisoners. The Austrians, with Daun at their head, now occupied, together with the Russians, Laufatia. But here they were soon distressed by scarcity of provisions. The Austrians could with difficulty provide even for themselves, and offered to the Russians money instead of provisions: "My soldiers do not eat money," answered Soltikow, and marched his army through Silesia to Poland. Laudon endeavored to persuade him to besiege Glogau. But this design became entirely deluded, when to their astonishment, they discovered a Prussian camp near Beuten on the Oder. Here stood Frederic to cover Glogau. They would not risk an attack upon him, marched along the Oder, and now seemed to direct their attention on Breslaw. But every

where they discovered Prussians, and the passes well guarded. They did not march further than Herrnsdorf; and after having reduced that place to ashes, they marched towards Poland.

At the end of October, Silesia and Brandenburg were evacuated by the Austrians and Russians. Twelve burning villages denoted the departure of the latter, who could not make war without committing enormities. The estates of Count Cosel on the Oder, experienced the same fate. He complained of it to the king; who in his answer, observed, "We have to cope with barbarians, who are working at the interment of all humanity. You see my dear Count, that I am more attentive to remedy the evil, than to complain of it; and this I would recommend to all my friends." The animosity of the allies against the king, was indeed so great, that it degraded our century.

In Saxony, the Prussian general, Wunsh, had retaken Torgau and Wittenberg, and defeated a large corps of the Austrians. Leipzig, which was occupied by the troops of the Empire, fell now also, into the hands of the Prussians, together with the whole garrison; after which the armies of Wunsh and Prince Henry formed a junction. Soon after the corps of Gen. Fink joined them.

Daun tried every scheme to drive Prince Henry out of Saxony; but this general, by his vigilance and superior talents, not only evaded all his schemes, but also found means to cover Leipzig and Wittenberg. The Austrian commander now formed a new project. He intended to cut off Prince Henry from those two places, and to enclose him in his camp. He therefore divided his army into different bodies; the strongest of which was commanded by the duke of Arensburg. Henry suspected the design of his enemies, and detached the generals Fink, Wedel and Wunsh, with their corps on different routs. The enemy, when discovered were falling back. At last the corps of Wunsh, met near Duben, Arensburg's large army, which immediately formed in order of battle. General Platen, at the head of the Prussian dragoons and hussars, charged the Austrian infantry, overthrew them, and made 1400 prisoners.

The king being indisposed, went to Glogau, after having detached Gen. Hullen with the greatest part of his army to Saxony; where the Prussians now became so powerful that

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Daun thought proper to march into the strong camp of Plauen, in order to cover Dresden. This city, of all the Austrian conquests lately made in Saxony, was the only one they retained. To wrest from them also this important place, was Frederic's chief intention, as soon as he in person could reach Saxony with his troops, and form a junction with Prince Henry. All depended upon forcing Daun to retreat to Bohemia, which probably would have happened of itself; but Frederic wishing to accelerate it, detached Fink with 11000 men to Maxen, in the mountains, and Col. Kleist was ordered to invade Bohemia with another body of troops. The expedition of the latter was not unsuccessful; he made prisoners, levied contributions, and plundered, in order to make reprisals for the enormities committed in Silesia.

Fink's position alarmed the enemy, on account of their transports from Bohemia; however, his situation was extremely precarious, being at a considerable distance from the king, and surrounded by the Austrians. This general seemed to have some apprehensions of his fate; before he began his march, he made some representation to the king, who laconically answered, "You know that I am no friend to difficulties, prepare, therefore, for your march."

Fink marched to Maxen, and ordered Gen. Linstadt with 3000 men to occupy the pass of Dippoldiswalde, whereby the communication with Freyberg was kept open. But the king not contented with that disposition, intimated to Gen. Fink that it would be better if the whole corps were kept together, as then he would be better able to oppose the enemy. Frederic's order was complied with; whereby all obstructions to an attack from the Austrians became removed.

The 21st of November was the unfortunate day, which ever will be remembered by the Prussians. Fink was attacked from every quarter. He occupied the plains, and his enemies the heights. This disadvantage became still greater by the vast superiority of his enemies. On the one side he was opposed by Daun with 30,000 men; on the other, by the duke of Deux Ponts, with the army of the Empire. The Prussians fought with astonishing bravery, until their ammunition became expended. Their retreat was at last cut off, and they could not anticipate any hope of relief from the king, as he was unacquainted with their situation. Fink af-

sembled his generals and proposed a retreat sword in hand; which was objected to, from the impossibility of making good their way through the defiles, so strongly occupied by their enemies; so that a capitulation was unavoidable. With nine generals, and the whole corps of near 11,000 men, surrendered prisoners of war; and a few hussars who escaped, brought to the king an account of the sorrowful event.

The friends as well as the enemies of the king, were again disappointed in their expectations. Daun instead of improving these great advantages by pushing forwards, returned into the strong camp, near Pirna. Frederic, on the contrary, although having suffered the loss of one half of his army, at the very conclusion of the campaign, when all the regiments were reduced in numbers, did not change his position, and only with 20,000 men, firmly preserved his ground in Saxony. To remedy, in some degree, this disproportion of numbers between him and his enemies, 12,000 of the allied troops were ordered to join him, which, under the command of the hereditary prince of Brunswick, was soon after effected near Chemnitz.

An extraordinary winter campaign now followed. The King's army was stationed in the neighborhood of Dresden; in small towns and villages. They were kept so near together, that few only could be brought under roof. Most of them lived in huts, where they laid around the fire day and night. The winter was extremely severe, the snow being several feet deep. Provisions were scarce. The soldiers in order to keep their blood somewhat in circulation, were either running about the camp like madmen, or they lay in their tents in heaps to warm alternately part of their frozen bodies. In this situation, attack and defence were equally impossible. The numbers of the dead, daily, was alarming; and in this winter campaign the king lost more men than two battles might have occasioned. The situation of the Austrians was equally deplorable. Disease spread its direful havoc, and daily destroyed thousands.

The war against the Swedes during this campaign, was as little remarkable as in the preceding. The Prussian general Kleist, after the battle of Kunnersdorf, being obliged to join the king, the Swedes had no enemy to oppose. They made use of that opportunity, by taking several Prussian

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places weakly garrisoned, and by pushing forward as far as Prenslaw. But the Prussian general Manteufel, soon assembled a corps, with which he drove them from Prenslaw, and beyond the river Pena.

The campaign of the allies was carried on with alternate success. Great Britain had now taken an active part in the war by land; * the Parliament having granted the king of Prussia £1,900,000 sterling. The French began their operations by a bold enterprize. In the middle of winter they surprized Frankfort on the Mayn. This free Imperial city, after having furnished its contingent was under no apprehension of danger from the allies of the Empire. They had before granted to the French a free passage by single corps only. At this time a similar application was made, and likewise granted; but the French, instead of marching through the city as formerly, took possession treacherously, and treated it like a conquered place.

Frankfort became now the head quarters of the French; whereby they gained a free communication with the Austrians and the troops of the Empire, and could moreover be supplied on the rivers Rhine and Mayn with every thing necessary. To wrest from them those advantages, was Prince Ferdinand's chief aim at the opening of the campaign. This, however, he was obliged to defer till April, as the troops of the Empire, and a corps of Austrian and French had invaded Hesse and the adjacent states, from whence it was first necessary to drive them. Prince Ferdinand after several engagements compelled them to evacuate those countries; and after having left 12000 men to cover Hesse and Hanover, he marched with 30,000 men towards Frankfort. Duke Broglie, who commanded the French army in that quarter, occupied the strong post of Bergen near Frankfort, which necessarily was to be taken, before he could direct his whole attention upon Frankfort.

On the 13th of April, both armies met at this place. The village was immediately attacked by Prince Ferdinand. Eight battalions of German troops in the pay of France, were stationed here, and from behind the village several brigades of French infantry kept up a brisk fire. The Prince of Yssenberg at the head of the Hessian grenadiers made the

* Her operations by sea as well as on the continent of America against the French, connected with this history, will hereafter be related.

attack. The French having all the advantages of the ground on their side, kept their position. Before the village there were ravelins which the Hessians could pass only in small corps. Prince Ferdinand now advanced with his division to their assistance, attacking the French in flank. The Hessians, animated thereby, renewed the conflict, and their adversaries had already given way, when Broglie, by a skilful manœuvre fell on the flanks of the allies. The Hessians were now repulsed and their commander, the Prince Ysenberg, was killed. The attack upon Bergen, was, however, three times renewed by the allies without success. Ferdinand's retreat became now unavoidable; to effect which, in good order, in the face of a superior enemy, stratagem was necessary. It was then mid-day, and night only could cover his retreat. In this perplexity, Ferdinand kept up the appearance of renewing the action. He divided his infantry into two parts, placed his cavalry in the centre, and a column in front, displaying signs of attacking Bergen and a forest on the left wing at the same time. He kept up a cannonade upon both these points till night approached, when he effected his retreat in good order, after having lost 2000 men and five cannon.

The French remained in possession of Frankfort, which in Ferdinand's hands would have become a source of advantages to the allied army. The French were thereby enabled to continue their operations with great hopes of success, where, on the contrary, Ferdinand was obliged to act defensively. He, nevertheless, remained master of the river Weser in spite of the manœuvres of the French to drive him from that river. They advanced, took Cassel and conquered Minden by storm. They also captured large magazines, and the city of Munster, where they made 4000 prisoners.

The design of the French was now to invade Hanover; but Ferdinand deluded all their endeavours. By stratagem he gained possession of Bremen, whereby he became master of the Weser as far as Stade. Not only possession of Hanover, but also the fate of the whole campaign depended now upon a battle. The loss of Minden, enabled Ferdinand to accelerate an action. In order to compel the enemy to fight, he detached two separate corps to menace the magazines in their rear, one of which was commanded by the

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Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, in order to sustain General Drewes, who had advanced towards Osnaburg, where he forced the gates, drove away the French garrison, and took their magazines. The allies were advantageously posted, and the French in danger to be cut off from their transports. The French commander, Contades, became uneasy. He, on the 31st of July, held a council of war, wherein they concluded to march that very night, in order to attack the allies the next morning. The latter being divided into separate corps, the attack promised to the French a favourable issue. They marched in nine columns, one of which was under the command of Broglie, who was to attack the corps of General Wangenheim, stationed at some distance from the main army of the allies. It was three o'clock in the morning before Ferdinand received intelligence of these movements by a deserter which was to him an agreeable information, being desirous of a battle, and having himself determined on an attack: He immediately put his troops in motion.

Meanwhile, Broglie arrived at Wangenheim's camp. The success depended upon the rashness of the expedition. But the French lost the precious moment, by being too slow in forming their order of battle, which was not completed till five o'clock in the morning. Wangenheim, thereby gained time to put himself in a state of defence, and Ferdinand to come to his assistance. By the masterly manœuvre of this General, the whole plan of Contades became destroyed. Wangenheim quitted his camp, and joined the main army. The French were now in a very critical situation, being surrounded by the Weser, a morass, and the enemy. A battle was unavoidable. Broglie continued the attack with great firmness; but his troops suffered severely by the artillery of the allies, which in a short time had totally silenced that of the French.

The French had posted their cavalry in the centre of the line of attack. This absurd arrangement, which had caused their defeat near Hochstadt, was for the allies, as it were, the password of victory.

Ferdinand ordered the English and Hanoverian infantry to attack the centre, whilst the Prince of Anhalt was to attack the French left wing. Those columns advanced courageously towards the enemy's cavalry, though they suffered much

by the great cannon fire which the French made in an oblique direction, upon their flanks. The French cavalry imprudently rushed forth and attacked the advancing infantry with great impetuosity from all sides; but this infantry opposed to their rage an unconquerable firmness; they remained in order, sending upon the French cavalry such showers of balls, that they at last took to flight in great disorder; other regiments of cavalry renewed the attack, but they met with the same fate. At last the French *gens d'armes*, and *carabiniers* advanced, which made some impression upon the English infantry, but were at last repulsed. They renewed the attack four times without success. The infantry of the allies not only maintained their ground, but at last advanced, and bid defiance to every attack of the cavalry. By the flight of the whole French cavalry, their line became broken, and the flanks of their infantry exposed. Broglie endeavored to enter with his beaten corps into that opening, where nothing but confusion reigned. This was the critical moment, totally to annihilate the French army. It was the result of tactical skill and valour; and the greatest defeat of the French, (greater than those of Hochstadt, Turin, and Ramillies,) seemed to be completely decided, when the infamous conduct of an English general saved the French from total ruin.

The infantry of the allies had done every thing, and it depended now upon the cavalry to complete the work. Ferdinand dispatched therefore the necessary orders to Lord Sackville, who commanded the English and German cavalry. This Englishman, unworthy of the military fame of his nation, was basely envious of Ferdinand; being the only one in the army who disliked the great advantages gained on that day. His patriotism yielded to envy. He pretended not to understand the German orders. Three adjutants alternately, of whom two were Englishmen, in vain brought him the most positive orders to advance. He disobeyed the orders, allowed the most precious moments to pass over, and at last rode up to Ferdinand, in order to obtain an explanation, which any one of his dragoons might have given him. Ferdinand, filled with resentment and surprize, sent then a similar order to the Marquis of Granby, the next British commander, who immediately obeyed; but the precious moment was passed, which all the wealth

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of Great Britain could no more recal. Broglie made good use of that shameful delay. He retreated in tolerable good order; the other French troops of the left wing following him.

During this time, the action on the right wing was extremely hot. The Prussian, Hanoverian and Hessian cavalry had overturned the French infantry, cut a great number of them to pieces, and made several thousand prisoners. All consulted their safety by flight. Broglie covered the retreat of the French right wing; and the Saxons, who were the only troops that kept order, covered the flying left wing.

The French lost, in this battle, 8000 killed, wounded, and prisoners, 30 cannon, and 17 standards: and a few days after, the best part of their heavy baggage, their military chest, the baggage of their principal officers and the military archive, the magazines at Osnaburg, Minden, &c. The allies counted but 1300, dead and wounded.

Sackville was now recalled to England. The whole nation were roused with indignation against him. The populace threatened to tear him to pieces; the better part of the inhabitants looked upon him as a worthless being; and George the Second would not suffer his name to be mentioned in his presence. He took from him his military commission; and in the book where the names of the Privy Council, (of which he was a member,) are registered, he erased Sackville's name with his own hands. His conduct was investigated by a court-martial, and his defence was as base as his conduct. He alledged that Ferdinand had envied his military talents, and had sent him contradictory orders, intending to ruin him. But a number of respectable witnesses from the army put his shameful conduct beyond a doubt. He was found guilty, and declared unfit for any further military duty in England.*

* "It is as remarkable as it is true, that this Sackville, stamped with infamy in the history of war, and degraded by George the Second, is the same man who afterwards, under the reign of George the Third, became Minister at War, under the name of Lord Germaine, and was one of the chief engines of the war against the Americans. In this station he planned the war operations in America, whereby Burgoyne, compelled by positive orders, became, at Saratoga, with his army, the sacrifice of a worthless Minister.

On the day of the victory of Minden, another was gained by the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, near Goosfeld. Ferdinand, though he had resolved to compel his superior enemy to an action, had weakened his army by detaching the Prince of Brunswick, with 10,000 men, to attack the Duke of Brisac. This General made his disposition so well, that he surrounded the French, who, after a smart engagement, were forced to fly, leaving all their baggage behind.

The consequences of this day were to the French extremely disadvantageous. Contades was obliged to quit his advantageous position at Minden, evacuate Cassel, and recross the Weser. The allies made prisoners in every direction, and took all their magazines. Col. Luckner * attacked another French corps near Elnhausen, and totally routed them. The city of Munster was taken by General Imhoff, with immense stores of ammunition and provision. This happened on the 20th of November, 1759, on the same day when the Prussians were taken near Maxen, and the British Admiral, Hawke, destroyed the whole French fleet on the coast of France during a terrible storm; a sea fight, the most extraordinary and tremendous, that ever was recorded in the annals of war.

The misfortune of Frederic near Maxen, made it indispensable to reinforce his army in Saxony. The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, therefore, marched now with a strong corps to Saxony, which weakened the allied army so much, that Ferdinand could not draw from his victories all the advantages that might have been expected. The severity of the season at last put an end to all operations. Ferdinand took his winter quarters in Westphalia, and the French in the vicinity of Frankfort on the Mayn. It seemed, as if the nations had changed their nature; for whilst in Saxony, the Germans and French were yet in the field in the midst of winter, the Russians and Swedes were two months since in their winter quarters.

During this winter, the allied kings of Prussia and England made overtures for peace, but without success. Frederic's enemies hoped every thing from their powerful alliance. They augmented their armies; Frederic did the

* The same who commanded one of the French armies at the beginning of the present revolutionary war against the coalited powers.

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time; but he had to encounter unequal difficulties. His enemies swayed over eighty millions of inhabitants; and the number of his subjects did not much exceed six millions. The kingdom of Prussia, and other provinces of his dominions were in the hands of his enemies. From those countries he therefore could not recruit his armies. Saxony, however, indemnified him partly for that loss. This country was to him the most beneficial source of money, provision, and soldiers.

The activity of Frederic, the zeal of his officers, and his never failing treasury, conquered all those difficulties, which at Vienna and Petersburg, were thought to be insurmountable. Convinced that the want of men would at last set limits to Frederic's actions, the courts of Vienna and Petersburg refused an exchange of prisoners; yet at the beginning of every campaign the Prussian armies were again completed.

(To be continued.)

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE INSPECTORS OF INFANTRY,

By the King of Prussia, Frederic the Great.

[Translated from the German.]

THERE are many objects to which the Inspectors should pay the strictest attention.

One of the objects is, that the regiments in charging and advancing, in displaying, and in all manœuvres used in the field, ought to be so expert, that they at all times, and without the least confusion, are able perform with ease any ordered evolutions. As practice does every thing, so the men should be so habituated, till at length all their motions shall become quite mechanical.

The second object, which is of still greater importance, respects the discipline and forming of officers. The regiments are to be regarded as machines, to which a head is wanted. However good a sword may be, it can perform no execution if not handled by a dexterous arm acquainted with its use.

The Inspectors of regiments should endeavor to inspire the officers with ambition, and encourage them to proper

application. In time of peace, advancements cannot possibly be so rapid as in war, where annually four or five battles take place. In the first campaign, in general, so many officers are killed, or become invalids, that the staff of every regiment, becomes composed of new officers. If then, ensigns and lieutenants, have never considered what they have to do as captains, majors, commanders and generals, and they obtain those posts, they are ignorant of what their new station requires of them.

There is no captain, major, or staff-officer, who may not be detached with small corps on foraging parties, convoys, or rear guards. If commanders of battalions, they are posted in villages; if generals, they are detached with their brigades, either to harraßs the enemy's quarters, or to attack detachments. To all these points, proper dispositions are necessary, and he who does not in time apply himself to make them with regularity, will, when he comes in such a situation, never know how to help himself in matters which are the most important parts of his business. It is therefore necessary to animate all young officers to the study of their art, so as to render them capable of supporting higher stations with honor.

There are two kinds of dispositions—the *offensive*, and the *defensive*. The offensive, which are always the best, and to which great attention is to be paid, consist in gaining advantages over the enemy, and in attacking their posts. To effect this, they must first of all gain every knowledge possible of the roads and avenues that lead to them; they must know where the enemy's outposts are placed, in order to get round them, and if possible gain their rear, where they think themselves secure, there to attack them, and after having finished the *coup*, return by a different rout to their army.

If it be an attack of a rear guard, the enemy's corps which retreats must in the form of a half moon, be surrounded by the cavalry, that the infantry may gain time to come up, and the infantry must according to the enemy's disposition, endeavor to attack them both in front and flank. If the enemy has to pass a defile, we are always sure of success, if we attack them at the time of their filing off. If we have to attack the enemies convoys, we must hide ourselves and wait till a part of the convoy has entered the defiles; then

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we must fall upon the centre and rear, and we may be sure of making ourselves masters of the part we have cut off. In such an affair, not much time must be lost, especially if it happens near the army of the enemy.

If a General with a brigade is commanded to attack a small corps of the enemy, he must know, 1st, the ways that lead to it; 2d, what post the enemy occupies, and in what manner they are posted; 3d, where their field guards are placed; 4th, the routes which their patrols take; after which, and not till then, he can make his disposition. To surprise as well as to get into the enemy's rear is the surest method. If he intends to surprise the enemy, the line of marching he must carefully calculate, that he may arrive at the time appointed, and make the attack an hour before day-light. The troops must, on the march, keep the utmost silence: they must not be allowed to smoke tobacco, the artillery-men must well hide their munts, that they may not be discovered by the fire, and no horse must be taken that is used to neighing. But if, after having gained every necessary information of the post, circumstances do not admit of a surprise, the disposition must be made so that the enemy is attacked on their weakest side, that we do not lose too much time by firing at one point of attack, and if possible, fall on the enemy's flank and rear.

The defensive War rests chiefly on forts; on camps judiciously taken; on the fortifying of them; on the strengthening of villages that lay within the lines of winter quarters, and, in short, on whatever may come within the province of an Engineer.

Impossible as it is that the Officers of a large army should possess all the qualifications requisite to their business, yet I am convinced that, if the Chiefs and Commanders of regiments would animate those young Officers who possess talents and ambition, many would, by application and study, acquire such knowledge as would lead them to glory and fortune.

In order to encourage them the more, we must recommend to them to peruse the histories of former wars; and above all, the campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus, of Prince Conde, Marshal Turenne, Marshal of Luxembourg, Prince Eugene, Charles XII; and the Memoirs and *l'art del' Attaque and defence* of Vauban. I know, as I have before observed, that not all officers possess great abilities; it is, therefore, need-

less, to take much pains with them : but we are to pay the more attention to those of ingenious talents and application.

FREDERIC.

Potsdam, July 25th, 1781.

NEW PRINCIPLES OF TACTICS.

FROM recent accounts from France it appears that during the present Revolutionary war, a new method of changing Front has been discovered.

Every military man knows that changing the front of troops either from right to left, or from left to right, or to the right and left from the centre, is one of the first objects of military evolutions. This change is performed by wheeling a quarter of the circle in divisions, and by marching on a circular line.

The French call the new method, changing the front by the *line of science*, which is performed by marching the troops on a strait line either to right or left. The Evolution is simply this : At the word of command, to change front to the right, the troops half face to the right, except the first file, and the file leader of the second file to the right who face to the right. At the word of command, to march, the file leader to the right steps to the right, so as to cover his rear file who stands fixed. The file leader of the second file, who had faced to the right steps forward to the left of the first file leader who had stepped to the right. At the same moment all move, and, marching always in a right line, each fills the place which he ought to occupy.

The advantages of this manœuvre, it is said, are : that the movement is contained within the square of our line—that the troops march on a right line—that we do not require any calculations from the soldiers—that each individual has his particular route—and that every change is made on a fixed point. It is farther observed, against the present system, that we march the troops on a circular line, which is contrary to the natural march of man—that by wheeling the troops become so dispersed, as to oblige them to close the line either to right or left, and that a circular march compels us to offer a flank to the enemy.

EDITOR'S REMARKS.

That the principle of this new Evolution is applicable to changing front to the left as well as to the right, and to close column, is geometrically true, and it can be performed by cavalry as well as infantry; but, it must be observed, that this manœuvre will, with a few exceptions, be found practicable on the place of Exercise only. Changing front in actual service is never done but under very pressing circumstances, and is always precarious before the face of an active enemy. Marching on a strait line is no more natural to man than marching on a circular line; for no man can march strait, he will, after a few paces naturally incline to the right or left. If by this new manœuvre we do not require any calculations from the soldiers, it is only not requiring more than what is done by the present system. Let us ask these new system makers, whether it would not be absurd in the extreme to require calculations from the soldier. A soldier is a part of a machine in which he must move, and out of which he cannot calculate himself without injuring the whole. Much stress is laid in this new discovery on each individual having his particular route. The officers who are to lead a body of men of which every one has his own route, would soon find themselves in a pitiful situation. That every charge is made on a fixed point is nothing more than what is done by wheeling in divisions. If by wheeling, the line is broken, the divisions at least remain compact (disperfed they never become) and troops that have any practice in such a manœuvre at all, close with such rapidity as to preclude any impression from a sudden attack. If a circular march compels us to offer a flank to the enemy, let any one, acquainted with the subject, judge, whether a strait line, (for instance) from the left of the line to the left of the intended new position, does not expose a flank also; with the difference only that if the enemy's cavalry is at hand, the consequences must be more fatal than where troops wheel in compact bodies.

This new manœuvre may, under some circumstances be applied to great advantage; but to establish it as a general rule would be establishing a precarious system. In one instance it is positively impracticable. Let us suppose that, during an action we are compelled to change our front from

the centre by wheeling the troops to the right and left in divisions so as to extend the line parallel to that of the enemy. By the *line of science*, AS IT IS CALLED, the first file to the right (changing front from left to right) is the point from which the new position begins its line. Now if the nature of the attack requires us to be parallel to the enemy, whose line far exceeds ours to the right, we expose ourselves by becoming out flanked, to inevitable ruin.

The theory of tactics as well as that of all other sciences, becomes useful but in proportion to the abilities of him that puts it in practice. A skilful commander will always make theory subservient to the exigency of the moment.

MILITARY MEMOIRS AND MAXIMS.

Of the Column.

THE Column is a solid figure, comprehending four right angles, and whose opposite sides are equal to each other. This figure represents a parallelogram, the two shortest sides are termed, one the head, and the other the foot of the column, or the front and rear of it; and the longest sides are called the flanks. But this form is not always observed or regarded, for sometimes the column is broader than it is deep or long, and sometimes approaching to a square, just as the person in command shall judge necessary to determine; but in which ever of the above forms the column is constructed, the terms of its sides are immutable; for the side which leads is called the front, its opposite the rear, and its other side the flanks.

The use of the Column is, either to form a line of march, to attack a pass, retrenchment, or a breach made in the works of a fortified place; and therefore the head, front or breadth of the Column is made more or less extensive in proportion to the service for which it is designed.

There are two sorts of columns, one is composed of *files*, and the other of *ranks*. That which is formed of *files*, is nothing more but a battalion or body of men drawn up three deep; and then faced either to the right or left, and marched in that order; but should this breadth be deemed not sufficiently extensive, then to it is added more troops formed

in the same manner, to make out the breadth or front required. With respect to the column made up of *ranks*, it is formed from a battalion or body of men drawn up also three deep; and then that body of men is told off into divisions, each division being of the same extent of the intended head or front of the column; and those divisions are afterwards wheeled or placed in the succession of each other from front to rear.

Each of these two sorts of columns has its particular advocates in point of choice; some preferring that composed of *files*, while others esteem that which is formed of *ranks*. Were these different opinions limited to particular and not general uses, each might occasionally be adopted, and an advantage be obtained from it; but to say that either column is fit for all purposes, is improper; since it will appear, upon a little reflection, that the sort of column, which is necessary for one kind of service, will be found inconvenient or impracticable on a different occasion. I shall first endeavour to shew the power and force of the column itself, that a just idea may be had of its importance; and next, how in consequence to apply it, under either form, suitable to the occasion, that it may in its operation produce the better effect.

The column then, besides the definition already given of it, is a large, close, heavy, compacted body. Its success chiefly depends upon the impetuosity of its progress in its solid form; the weight and force of which being so great, when thus put in motion, that no accessible line of men, retrenchment or barricade, of equal extent to its breadth can resist it, but like a torrent bears down all before it. And though the head of it may suffer much from the fire of such line, retrenchment or barricade, yet by its continually advancing and pressing on, and fresh men still presenting themselves to supply the places of the dead and wounded, it must at length arrive at the point of attack, before those who defend can possibly be prepared and ready to receive it afresh; and then of course a rout ensues, through a sense that the means of a repulse is no longer in their power.

On the other hand, the column is also to be considered from the nature of its construction, as a body extremely unwieldy in itself, not only requiring much time and space for the operation of its evolutions, either to reduce or to alter its form, but liable besides from the least violent impression made

upon it, to be involved in great disorder and confusion, by the parts being then broke and disjointed, and not so easily again put into order. It is a body that likewise requires the greatest equability and regularity in its movement and progress, otherwise it will unavoidably open, which must of course extend its rear beyond a proper distance, and by that means enfeeble its flanks, and expose it to a total destruction from any sudden attack made at the time upon it. And though it is a body irresistible in itself by any line of equal extent to its front, yet it must ever be remembered how much that advantage diminishes, in proportion as that line increases, or is more extensive than the front of the column. And for instance,

Suppose two battalions of an equal force, and of a like establishment, oppose each other. The one forms the *line*, and the other the *column*. That of the line is told off into eight divisions or platoons; and that of the other into four divisions, formed into a column either of ranks or files; and that the attack of which is made on the centre of the opposite battalion, whose two centre divisions are of equal extent to the head of the column. Now it is evident that this column will not only be exposed in its progress to a *direct* fire from the two centre divisions, but also to the *flanking cross fire* of the three other divisions, belonging to each wing of the *line*; and as those who give these three flanking fires on each side, will have nothing to apprehend from the immediate attack of the column to flurry or discompose them, therefore their fire will have the most certain effect, being delivered both with coolness and regularity; and though the surviving part of the column should nevertheless still press on, the line will then have nothing more to do, but to open to the right and left at the centre, and to suffer the head of the column just to pass through, and then for each wing to close in immediately upon it, and to charge it in flank with fixed bayonets, before it can have time to recover itself from the disordered condition it must have consequently been thrown into, by such a powerful weight of fire upon it, and then inevitable destruction will as quickly follow.

Hence appears the necessity for examining and weighing well before hand, what flanking force there is to oppose the column in its progress; and where that is found to be

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too great for an open attack, then recourse must be had to stratagem ; that is, where a real attack can be concealed and made by surprise, or were a variety of feints can be introduced remote from the true attack, which may divert the attention of those who defend such feints, then the column will have its due weight, and will seldom or never miscarry.

The following cases will exemplify, what sort of column will be necessary to apply under different circumstances.

Let us suppose a retrenchment is to be attacked, and that from a neglect, or from the nature of the ground on the other side of it, no reserve of troops are there posted to meet and attack the head of the column on its forcing that retrenchment ; and consequently all that is to be apprehended, is the attack of those on each side to take the column in flank.

Conformable to this case, we should make choice of the column composed of *files*, because, after it has penetrated, it can on facing to the right and left outwards from the centre, instantly move forwards, either to charge those in flank, who may have still remained behind their works, and disperse them, or to oppose a front to those who, more remote, may there have formed a line parallel to the shaft of the column.

Suppose a barricade or retrenchment is to be attacked, and that the enemy forms his line behind it at some convenient distance, in order to sustain that work, and to attack the head of the column as it advances ; and that the column on its part has nothing to apprehend for its flanks, knowing the nature and situation of such works, which cannot admit of a flanking force sufficient to annoy or impede it in its progress.

Under the circumstances of this case, we should prefer the column composed of *ranks*, because the rear divisions of which can by facing to the right and left outwards, easily after join the leading division of the column, and so form the line ; which a column of *files* cannot conveniently, or so expeditiously do, on account of the large sweep which the several parts must take in wheeling to accomplish that operation, besides the risk of being thrown into disorder by such an attempt.

This column is likewise preferable for the purpose of forming the line on coming out at a pass or strait, where no flanking force is apprehended to oppose us.

Suppose a retrenchment is to be attacked, and that it is foreseen the enemy will, in order to support it, not only form a line to attack the head of the column, but will likewise form a line on each side to attack the column in flank.

In this situation we should make choice of what is called the *mixed column*; that is, we should have the centre part of the column formed of *ranks*, and each flank of *files*, in order that such column may answer the united purposes of the two last cases, both for front and flank attacks as is here required.

Suppose we are to meet the enemy in a street, road, or such like situation, where both parties are equally alike inclosed in such pass, and that neither of them can attack each other's flank.

In this case we should prefer the column formed of *ranks*; because, as most, if not all roads, streets, &c. are seldom of an equal breadth in all parts, this column can, from its construction, easily contract itself by doubling its ranks, or again unfold itself to its former breadth, as the occasion requires, which operation a column of *files* cannot effect. And as to the method of attack, it should be, instead of making use of that form of *street fire* which is now practised, to have the ranks to extend to the full breadth of such pass, with directions, on no account to fire before ordered, but to make use of the bayonet, and decide the affair by manly vigour. The advantages of which method are these, first, the enemy cannot get in upon either of your flanks to disorder us, the whole space being filled up. And next, as the enemy will be ignorant of our design to reserve our fire, and to depend solely upon our bayonet, he will most probably give his fire on our advancing, which as surely as he does, he is inevitably lost; there being, not an instance to be produced, where soldiers have imprudently thrown away their fire, and not finding the effect which they hoped to receive from it, did not, on being instantly after close pushed, think themselves incapable of all further resistance, and in consequence turn round on those in the rear to seek flight that way; and by the panic they communicate, throw all into confusion and disorder. The only danger attending an attack of this sort is the risk we run of our men giving their fire first, and then the tables may be easily turned upon ourselves, which to guard against the front ranks should not be permitted to load, which, instead of lessening their courage, will serve to increase their vigour in the attack.

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THE AMERICAN WAR.

(Continued from page 304.)

THE numbers which surrendered prisoners of war inclusive of the militia, was above 5000, but the proper garrison at the time of the surrender, did not exceed 2500, of which 500 were in the hospitals. Upwards of 400 pieces of artillery were surrendered. The Americans had, during the siege 89 men killed and 140 wounded. Of the British troops, 76 were killed and 189 wounded. The American vessels in the harbour of Charleston, the crews and guns of which had been put on shore to reinforce the batteries, were taken or destroyed.*

After the surrender of the capital, the next object with the British was to secure the general submission of the whole body of the people. A detachment proceeded up the south west side of the Santee to the district of Ninety-Six, in order to confirm and encourage the loyal, and reduce the disaffected.

Another corps with a similar intention, moved up the banks of Savannah to Augusta. Proclamations were issued by the British commander, by which effectual countenance, protection and support, were promised to the King's faithful and peaceable subjects, and the most exemplary severity, with confiscation of property, denounced against those who should hereafter appear in arms within the province against his Majesty's government, or who should attempt to compel any others to do so, or who should hinder or intimidate any of the King's faithful and loving subjects from joining his forces, or performing those duties which their allegiance required.

At the same time, Lord Cornwallis with a body of troops was detached, to drive out of the province a corps of continental troops under Colonel Burford, who, arriving too late in the siege to be able to throw succours into Charleston, had taken post on the Northern banks of the Santee. Immediately after the surrender of Charleston, Colonel Burford whole forces consisted of three hundred and eighty conti-

* *The unsuccessful defence of this place, with its consequences, demonstrates the necessity of sacrificing the towns of this country, in preference to endangering the whole, by risking too much for their defence.*

mental infantry, a detachment of Washington's cavalry, and two six pounders had quitted his post on the banks of the Santee, and began a retreat up the North East side of that river with a view of retiring into the back country of North-Carolina to join a reinforcement which he expected to meet him by that route. Lord Cornwallis did not begin his march in pursuit of him until the eighteenth of May and then moved on towards Camden. After crossing the Santee, and marching some days on the road by which Burford had retreated, finding him too far advanced to be overtaken by the main body of his detachment, Cornwallis dispatched Colonel Tarleton with forty men of the Seventeenth regiment of dragoons, one hundred and thirty of the cavalry of the legion, and one hundred mounted infantry of the same corps, to endeavour by forced marches to come up with him. After a march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, Tarleton overtook Burford's corps at Waxhaws, on the borders of North Carolina, on the twenty ninth of May, and completely defeated them. Five out of six of the whole of Burford's corps were either killed or so badly wounded, as to be incapable of being moved from the field of battle. The British had only two officers and three privates killed, and one officer and fourteen privates wounded. This great disproportion of the killed on the two sides, arose from the circumstance, that Tarleton's party refused quarter to the Americans, after they had ceased to resist and laid down their arms.

The continental force in South-Carolina being extirpated by this defeat, and the inhabitants in most parts of the province having submitted to the British government from necessity or convenience, the British commander in chief considered the province completely reduced. Previous to his departure for New-York, however, he thought fit to issue another proclamation, wherein he virtually called upon the inhabitants to take arms in support of royal government. The helping hand of every man, it was said, was wanted to re-establish peace and good government. Those who had families might form a militia to remain at home and preserve peace and good order in their own districts; whilst those who were young, and had no families, it was expected would be ready to assist the King's troops in driving their oppressors, and all persons whatsoever acting under the autho-

rity of Congress, far from the province; and, for this purpose, that they should prepare themselves to serve with the Kings troops for any six out of the next twelve Months, under officers of their own choice, and with this express stipulation, that they should be allowed, when in service, the same pay, ammunition, and provisions as the Kings troops, and should not be obliged to march beyond North-Carolina on the one side, or Georgia on the other. Having served for that period, it was said, that they would have paid their debt to their country, would be freed from all further claim of military service, except the usual militia duty at home, and would be entitled to enjoy undisturbed, that peace, liberty, and security of property, which they had contributed to establish.

General Clinton, on the fifth of June, embarked for New-York, carrying with him all the troops that could be spared, leaving Lieutenant-General Lord Cornwallis in the command of those that remained, with the charge of prosecuting the war in North-Carolina as soon as the season of the year, and other circumstances, would permit.

The impossibility of fleeing with their families and effects, and the want of an army to support them, had induced the people in the country to abandon all schemes of further resistance which was followed by an unusual calm.

But with General Clinton's proclamation, which involved a majority of the citizens in the necessity of either fleeing out of the country, or of becoming a British Militia, the declension of British authority commenced. The Americans shuddered at the thought of taking arms against their American brethren. "If we must fight, said they, let it be on the side of America, our friends and countrymen."

The army under Lord Cornwallis amounted to about four thousand men; but the expedition into North-Carolina was necessarily delayed, from the heat of the season, the unsettled state of South-Carolina, the impossibility of subsisting an army in that province until the harvest was over, and the necessity of forming magazines, with a chain of communications properly secured before the expedition was begun. The British troops were in the mean time so disposed in cantonments as to cover the frontiers both of South-Carolina and Georgia, and secure their internal quiet.

Their principal force upon the frontiers was at Camden, under the command of Lord Rawdon, consisting of the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, the volunteers of Ireland, the legion cavalry, two corps of provincials, and a detachment of artillery. Major M'Arthur was detached with two battalions to Cheraw Hill, upon the river Pedee, to cover the country between Camden and Georgetown, and to correspond with the highland settlement on Cross Creek, in North-Carolina. Georgetown was garrisoned by a detachment of provincials under Captain Saunders of the Queen's rangers. Camden was connected with the district of Ninety-Six by a strong post at Rocky Mount, upon the Wateree, garrisoned by the New-York volunteers, and some militia, under Colonel Turnbull. At Ninety-Six were stationed three battalions of provincials, and some companies of light infantry commanded by Colonel Cruger. Major Ferguson's corps of provincials, and a body of loyal militia were not stationary, but traversed the country between the Wateree and the Saluda, and sometimes approached the confines of North-Carolina. The rest of the British troops were stationed at Augusta, Charleston, Beaufort, and Savannah. At Camden was to be formed the principal Magazine for the intended expedition.

Lord Cornwallis, as soon as he had fixed the posts, and cantoned his troops, repaired to Charleston where he employed himself in forming regulations for the internal government of South-Carolina. A board of police was established for the administration of justice, until the situation of the province should admit of the regular restoration of its former civil government. Commercial regulations were made for permitting to a certain extent the exportation of the produce of the country; and great pains were taken to enroll the militia, and prepare for assisting in the defence of the province.

But this interval of quiet was not of long duration. While the British were endeavouring to strengthen the party for royal government, the Americans were not inattentive to their interests. Congress ordered a considerable detachment from General Washington's army, to be marched to the assistance of their adherents in South-Carolina. North-Carolina and Virginia also, made vigorous exertions to get a body of men in the field for the same purpose.

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The intelligence of those movements quickly dispelled the apprehensions of those who from fear had submitted to the British government and were very early disgusted by the proclamation of Sir Henry Clinton, which in one instant, converted them either into loyal subjects or rebels. The spirit of revolt, which had been hitherto restrained by the distance of the continental force, burst now forth into action. It made its first appearance in two different quarters about the same instant of time. Since the fall of Charleston the command of the militia, in the district bordering on the rivers Tyger and Enoree, had been given to a Colonel Floyd, their former commander, Colonel Neal, having left South-Carolina. One Lisle, who had belonged to this corps whilst it was under the command of Neale, availing himself of Clinton's proclamation, took the oath of allegiance, and exchanged his parole for a certificate of his being a good subject. Returning to his former abode, he obtained a command under Colonel Floyd, and as soon as the battalion of militia was supplied with arms and ammunition, had the address to carry it off to Colonel Neale, his former commander, who had joined Colonel Sumpter, a distinguished partizan, then in the Catawba settlement. This happened in the North-West quarter of the State, and in the North-East part a similar instance occurred about the same time. When the British found it necessary to withdraw their detachment at Cheraw Hill, Major M'Arthur embarked in boats the sick of this detachment, amounting to near a hundred, and ordered them to fall down the Pedee, to the British port at Georgetown, under an escort of militia commanded by Colonel Mills; but as soon as the boats had proceeded so far as to be out of the reach of assistance from Major M'Arthur, the militia rose upon their commanding officer, and carried the sick into North-Carolina as prisoners.

Two months after the reduction of Charleston, warfare was actually renewed by the before mentioned Col. Sumpter, at the head of a small corps of freemen. After the conquest of Charleston, he had fled out of the state, and had influence enough to attach to himself a number of the people in that part of North-Carolina, where he had taken refuge; and with these, joined to some determined whigs that had fled with him from South-Carolina, he formed a

kind of flying camp, returned to his own state, and took the field against the victorious British, after the inhabitants had generally abandoned all ideas of farther resistance. He advanced as far as Catawba settlement, and being joined by the battalion of militia under Leslie, completely armed and furnished with ammunition, he without delay undertook some enterprize against the British out-posts.

Towards the end of July he marched from Catawba Settlement with about six hundred men; and made an attack on the British post at Rocky Mount, which was defended by one hundred and fifty of the corps of New-York volunteers, and some militia under the command of Col. Turnbull. But Sumpter having no artillery, he could make no impression; and was after three different unsuccessful attacks, in which he lost a considerable number of men, obliged to desist. He retreated—but as soon as he had recruited a sufficient number to make up for the loss sustained at Rocky Mount, he attacked another of the royal detachments at Hanging Rock, consisting of the Prince of Wales' regiment, and a large body of loyalists, under the command of Major Carden. The Prince of Wales' regiment was almost totally destroyed; but the loyalists having fled with precipitation at the very beginning of the attack, few of them were either killed or wounded.

While Sumpter thus kept up the spirits of the people by a succession of gallant enterprises, the panic which had succeeded the fall of Charleston, daily abated. The whig militia on the extremities of the state, formed themselves into parties, under commanders of their own choice, and sometimes attacked detachments of the British army, but more frequently those of their own countrymen; who, as a royal militia, were co-operating with the king's forces.

In the mean time the continental forces were advancing through the middle states for the relief of their southern brethren. They were at first under the command of Maj. Gen. Baron de Kalb, but afterwards Gen. Gates was put at their head. The success of the latter, in the northern campaign of 1776 and 1777, induced many to believe that his presence, as commander of the southern army, would re-animate the friends of independence. On taking the command, Gen. Gates marched his army on the shortest

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road to the vicinity of the British encampments. After having made its way through a country of pine-barrens, sand hills and swamps, and suffering much by the scarcity of provisions, this army reached Clermont, thirteen miles from Camden, on the thirteenth of August. A large body of Virginia militia under the command of General Stephens, arrived the next day.

On reaching the frontiers of South-Carolina, General Gates issued a proclamation inviting the patriotic citizens "to join heartily in rescuing themselves and their country, from the oppression of a government imposed on them by the ruffian hand of conquest." He also gave "assurance of forgiveness and perfect security, to such of the unfortunate citizens as had been induced by the terror of sanguinary punishment, the menace of confiscation, and the arbitrary measures of military domination, apparently to acquiesce under the British government, and to make a forced declaration of allegiance and support to a tyranny, which the indignant souls of citizens, resolved on freedom, inwardly revolted at with horror and detestation," excepting only from this amnesty, "those who in the hour of devastation, had exercised acts of barbarity and depredation on the persons and property of their fellow citizens."

By the arrival of the Virginia militia, General Gates's army was increased to about four thousand men, but of this number, the whole regular force was only 900 infantry, and 70 cavalry. In order to stop the progress of the Americans, Lord Rawdon had moved forward with the force under his command at Camden, and taken a strong position in front of General Gates, upon the West branch of Lynche's Creek. Gates advanced on the opposite side; and the two armies continued for several days opposed to each other, with the creek only intervening between their advanced parties.

Whilst the two armies lay in this situation the British withdrew their detachment at Rugeley's Mills, it being exposed on account of its advanced situation. By the evacuation of this post the road leading from Waxhaws to Camden was left unguarded; and Lord Rawdon, apprehending that the Americans might pass him by this road, and get into his rear, fell back from Lynche's Creek, nearer to Camden, and took a new position at Logtown. Colonel Sumpter whose force

had been encreased by a detachment of continental soldiers, was detached by General Gates across the Wateree to favour the revolt of the inhabitants on the south west side of that river, which then had become general, and at the same time to intercept the supplies and reinforcements on the road to Camden. General Gates, in order to preserve a communication with Sumpter, moved to his right up the north side of Lynche's Creek, and took post at Rugeley's Mills, intending to advance from thence, by the Waxhaw road, to Camden.

Earl Cornwallis having received information of the approach of General Gates, postponed the completion of the civil arrangements in which he had for some time past been engaged at Charlestown, and proceeded to Camden, where he arrived on the fourteenth of August. Nearly eight hundred British troops were then sick at Camden, and the number of those who were really effective amounted to something more than two thousand, including officers, of whom about fifteen hundred were regulars, and the rest, militia and refugees.

The communication between Camden and Charleston appeared in danger of being cut off by the enterprising movement of Colonel Sumpter, whose numbers were daily increasing by the junction of disaffected inhabitants; and the safety of the British army depended upon preserving a communication with the sea coast; something therefore was necessary to be done immediately for extricating it from its perilous situation. A retreat to Charleston might have been effected, which the inferior number would have justified; but the sick must have been left behind, and the magazines and stores either abandoned or destroyed. Confiding in the discipline of his troops, however inferior in number, Cornwallis resolved to move forward, and attack the American army. He began his march towards Rugeley's Mills, at ten in the evening of the fifteenth of August, committing the defence of Camden to Major M'Arthur, with some provincials, militia, and a detachment of the sixty third regiment. The same night, nearly about the same time, and with a similar intention, Gen. Gates left his encampment at Rugeley's Mills. Both armies marching on the same road, in opposite directions, their advanced guards met and fired upon each other about two in the morning. Some prisoners were made on both sides; and from these, the respective commanders became acquainted

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with the movements of the other. The firing soon afterwards ceased, and both armies were formed; in which situation they continued till daylight appeared. The ground was as favorable for the British commander as he could have wished: a swamp on each side secured his flanks, and narrowed the ground in front, which rendered the superiority of the American army of less consequence. His front line was made up of the two divisions commanded by Lord Rawdon and Col. Webster. They were disposed in such a manner that the thirty-third regiment on the left of Webster's division, communicating with the volunteers of Ireland, on the right of Lord Rawdon's, formed the centre of the line. To their front line were attached two six pounders, and two three pounders. The seventy-first regiment, with two six-pounders, formed a second line, or reserve; one battalion being posted behind each; and in the rear of the whole, the cavalry were ready either to charge or pursue.

The American army was also formed in two lines: Gen. Gist's brigade was on the right, the North-Carolina militia in the centre, and the Virginia militia, with the light-infantry, and Potterfield's corps, was on the left. The first Maryland brigade formed a second line, or corps de reserve, and the artillery was divided between the two brigades.

In the morning a general engagement took place. The British commenced the action by charging the American left wing with fixed bayonets, which they performed with so much promptitude and success, that the Virginia militia, quickly giving way, threw down their arms and fled, and were soon followed by a considerable part of the North-Carolina militia. The American reserve was now brought into action; and Gen. Gates, in conjunction with Gen. Caswell, retiring with the militia, endeavored to rally them, but in vain. Lord Rawdon attacked the American right wing with great spirit; but here the contest was more obstinately maintained by the Americans, whose artillery did considerable execution. But their left flank being exposed by the flight of the militia, and the British light-infantry and twenty-third regiment, instead of pursuing the fugitives, wheeling to the left, and attacking them in flank, they after a brave resistance for near three quarters of an hour, were thrown into confusion, and forced to give way in all quarters. They were pursued by the horse of Tarleton's legion

as far as Hanging-Rock, twenty-two miles from the field of action. About eight hundred of the Americans were killed in the action, and about one thousand taken prisoners, many of whom were wounded. Of this number were Major Gen. Baron de Kalb, and Brig. Gen. Rutherford. The former of these officers, a German by birth, at the head of a continental regiment of infantry, made a vigorous charge on the left wing of the British army, and when wounded and taken prisoner, would scarcely believe that the provincial army had been defeated. He died of his wounds a few days after the action, much regretted by the Americans. The latter lost the whole of their artillery, eight field-pieces, 200 waggons, and the greatest part of their baggage, camp equipment, and military stores.

The loss of the British troops amounted to three hundred and twenty-five, of whom sixty-nine were killed, and two hundred and fifty-six wounded and missing. The completeness of the victory of the royal troops, was in a great degree owing to their superiority in cavalry, and the precipitate flight of the American militia. Gen. Gates, who in vain endeavored to rally his flying troops, retired to Charlotte, ninety miles from the place of action, and soon after to Hillsborough, in North Carolina, one hundred and eighty miles from Camden. Gen. Gist alone was able to keep together about one hundred and fifty men, who flying across a swamp, made good their retreat in a body, which arrived on the 18th at Charlotte; and from an apprehension that they would be immediately pursued and cut to pieces, they retreated as far as Salisbury. The conduct of Gen. Gates has been much censured. He was, it is said, so confident of success, that he did not even appoint a place of rendezvous in case of a defeat.

The loss of this action was immediately followed by the surprize and dispersion of Sumpter's corps on the other side of the Wateree. His force there, small as it was would have been sufficient to occupy a convenient station for collecting the scattered remains of the American army: It was therefore of importance to the British to strike at this corps. Upon hearing of General Gates' defeat, Sumpter began his retreat, and moved with so much dispatch, that, thinking himself already out of all danger, he encamped at two in the afternoon of the eighteenth of August, in order to give his

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men some repose during the heat of the day. Col. Tarleton, the morning after the action, had set out with a detachment of three hundred and fifty men, pursued Sumpter so closely, that after passing the Wateree at Rocky Mount Ford, he overtook him. The retreating Americans, having been four days without little or no sleep, were more obedient to the calls of nature, than attentive to their preservation. Sumpter's videttes were so overcome with fatigue, that they neglected their duty. The surprize was so complete, that Tarleton's detachments, both cavalry and infantry, entered Sumpter's camp, and cut off the Americans from their arms and artillery, before they had time to assemble. With great difficulty, Sumpter got a few to stand their ground for a short time, but the greater part of his corps fled to the river or the woods. He lost all his artillery, and his whole detachment was either killed, captured, or dispersed. The prisoners he had lately taken, were all re-taken by the British.

After the defeat of Gen. Gates, and the total dispersion of Sumpter's corps, the American force to the southward, seemed for a time, entirely annihilated ; but the want of some supplies for the British army, and the season and bad health of his troops, restrained Lord Cornwallis from proceeding immediately on his long projected expedition into North-Carolina. He conceived the present moment of triumph, the country being in his power, to be the most favourable conjuncture, for breaking the spirits of those who were attached to independence. After having again sent emissaries into North-Carolina, with instructions to the friends of the British government to take arms, under an assurance, that the British army would march, without loss of time, to their support, Cornwallis thought proper to form some new regulations in South-Carolina. The estates of all those who had left the state to join the enemies of Great-Britain, or who were employed in the service, or held commissions under the authority of Congress, and also of all those who continued to oppose the re-establishment of the British government, were ordered to be sequestered. A commissioner was appointed to seize upon them. Instant death was denounced against those, who, having taken protections from the British government, should afterwards join the Americans. Some few of the militia, who had been taken in General Gates' army with arms in their hands, and protections in their pockets, were actually executed.

By this flattering posture of affairs, the British ministry were once more intoxicated with the hope of subjugating America. New plans were formed, and it was asserted that such troops as fought at Camden, under such a commander as Lord Cornwallis, would soon extirpate rebellion so effectually, as to leave no vestige of it in America. But, in the same proportion as the conquerors, elated with their victories grew more insolent and rapacious, the real friends of independence became more resolute and determined.

The defeat of Gates' army were the limits to British conquests. The prospects of united America brightened up, while those of their enemies were obscured by disgrace, broken by defeat, and at last covered with ruin.

Lord Cornwallis, on the eighth of September, began his march from Camden, in order to invade North-Carolina. He, without any material occurrence, advanced as far as Charlotte; which was taken possession of, after a slight resistance from the militia, towards the end of September. This place, from its intermediate position between Camden and Salisbury, was a convenient situation to be occupied, whenever the British army should advance farther into North-Carolina. Here the British commander intended to establish a post. But whilst he was taking measures for this purpose, the news arrived of the total defeat of Major Ferguson.

After the action near Camden, and the subsequent general submission of the inhabitants, the British had taken pains to increase the royal force by the co-operation of the yeomanry of the country. They represented to the people that every scheme of independence was annihilated, and that a farther opposition would only be a prolongation of their distresses. Among others, Major Ferguson, the officer before alluded to, was particularly active in this business. He visited the settlements of the disaffected to the American cause, and collected a corps of militia of that description, from which the British expected much active service. But the disposition to revolt, which had been excited on the approach of Gen. Gates, was not extinguished by his defeat. The spirit of enterprize revived again among the American militia, which prompted Colonel Clarke to make an attempt on the British post at Augusta, in Georgia. This Col. Clarke, an inhabitant of Georgia, had fled from that

late, after its reduction by Col. Campbell in 1779. He attached to himself some followers on the frontiers of North and South-Carolina. His numbers encreased as he advanced, until he reached Georgia, where, during the march of Cornwallis from Camden to Charlotte, he made an attack upon the British post at Augusta. But in this enterprize he failed, and was compelled to retreat. The British with a view of cutting off his retreat, sent intelligence to Major Ferguson, who then with his corps traversed the country between Col. Clarke and North-Carolina, acquainting him with the route which Clarke had taken. Ferguson accordingly advanced nearer to the mountains; a movement which carried him a considerable distance from support. But another enemy appeared at this juncture, whose rapidity of movement rendered a retreat difficult in his present situation. Several detached commanders of several adjacent states, with their respective commands of militia, had, of their own accord, formed a powerful combination. One division consisted of those hardy republicans who reside westward of the Alleghany mountains. After having passed the mountains, and hearing of Clarke's repulse at Augusta, they turned their attention towards Ferguson, whose movements on the frontiers, indicating an approach to their country, gave them considerable alarm. They were first joined by a Col. Williams, of the district of Ninety-Six, with a considerable number of followers; and afterwards by a number of men under the direction of Col. Campbell of Virginia, Colonels Cleveland, Skelley, Sevier, and M'Dowal, of North-Carolina, and Colonels Lacy, Hawthorn, and Hill, of South-Carolina. Their whole number consisted of about 1600; and the hardships they underwent, were very great. They had neither commissaries, quarter-masters, nor stores of any kind. Some of them subsisted for weeks together, without tasting bread, salt, or spirituous liquors. The running stream quenched their thirst; the earth afforded them a bed, and the heavens were their only covering.

Ferguson had taken post at Gilbert-town, in the vicinity of the mountains; to which place the combined detachments directed their march. Whilst they were yet at some distance, Ferguson received intelligence of their approach, and immediately began a retreat towards the British army. The different divisions of mountaineers reached Gilbert-

town nearly about the same time. They then selected about a thousand of their best men, who, mounted on their fleetest horses, pursued Ferguson. They overtook him at King's Mountain on the ninth of October. At this place he had halted, determined to wait the attack. It was an advantageous situation to the assailants: being covered with wood, it afforded them an opportunity of fighting in their own way, by placing themselves behind trees. The Americans formed three parties under the command of Colonels Lacy, Campbell, and Cleveland, which attacked Ferguson on the west, in the center, and on the east end. But Ferguson with great courage attacked them with fixed bayonets, and compelled them successively to retire. They, however, only fell back a little way, and getting behind trees and rocks, poured in an irregular, but destructive fire. The engagement was maintained for near an hour, the mountaineers flying whenever they were in danger of being charged with the bayonet. Ferguson, with an unconquerable spirit, repulsed a succession of attacks from every quarter, until he received a mortal wound. No chance of escape being left, and the second in command, judging all farther resistance to be in vain, offered to surrender. Eight hundred and ten became prisoners, and two hundred and twenty-five had been previously killed and wounded. Ten of the royal militia who had surrendered, were hanged by their conquerors; to which they were provoked by the severity of the British, who, as already related, had hanged several of the captured Americans in South-Carolina and Georgia. The loss of the Americans, in the number of killed, was trifling, but among that number was Col. Williams, a distinguished officer.

The fall of Ferguson, and the slaughter, captivity, or dispersion of whole corps, deranged the plan of the expedition into North-Carolina. It frustrated a well concerted scheme for strengthening the British army by the co-operation of the loyalists. The same timidity which prevented them from joining their countrymen in opposing the claims of Great-Britain, restrained them now from risking any more in support of the royal cause. The western frontiers of South-Carolina were now exposed to the incursions of the mountaineers, which made it necessary for Lord Cornwallis to fall back for their protection. On the fourteenth of Oc-

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tober he began his march back to South-Carolina, and after encountering many difficulties, arrived in the vicinity of Camden on the 29th of October.

This retreat, and the defeat of Major Fergusson, encouraged the American militia again to take the field. Sumpter, after his defeat on the eighteenth of August, had retired into a remote part of the state, called the New-Acquisition. Here he again collected a band of volunteers, partly from those who had escaped on that day. With these he now advanced, intending to form a junction with Colonels Clarke and Brannen, and then to attack the British post at Ninety-Six. Lord Cornwallis, on receiving intelligence of his approach, detached Major Wemyss with the sixty-third regiment mounted, and a party of their legion cavalry, to surprize him in his camp at Fish-Dam, upon Broad River. Major Wemyss, reaching the place of his destination during night, immediately made his attack. He charged the American piquet, but from the first fire he received a dangerous wound. Sumpter gained time to draw out his troops; and the British detachment was repulsed and obliged to retire, leaving behind their commander and about twenty of their number killed or wounded.

Eight days after this action, Sumpter was again attacked at Black Stocks Hill, near Tyger river, by Col. Tarleton. But Sumpter's position was extremely advantageous. That part of the hill to which the British directed their attack, was nearly perpendicular, with a small rivulet, brush-wood, and a railed fence in front. The rear of the Americans, and part of their right flank, were secured by the river Tyger, and their left was covered by a large long barn, into which a considerable division of their force had been thrown, and from the appertures of which, they fired with security. The sixty-third regiment lost one third of their men. The commanding officer, Major Mooney, and two other officers fell. Tarleton charged with his cavalry, but without success. The British were obliged to retire, and Sumpter remained in quiet possession of the field. The immediate effects of the action, however, were nearly the same as those of a victory on the side of the British. Sumpter being disabled by a wound he received in this attack, from keeping the field, his followers dispersed, after conveying him to a place of safety.

After the defeat near Camden, Gen. Gates and the officers who escaped, were indefatigably active in collecting the dispersed remains of the American army; and the governments of Virginia and North-Carolina continued to raise men and make draughts from their militia. Having collected a force at Hillsborough, the head quarters of Gen. Gates, this officer again advanced, first to Salisbury, and afterwards to Charlotte. At the arrival of Gen. Greene, who was sent by Congress to take the command of their southern army, Gen. Gates resigned the command on the third of December; and with these events, closed the campaign of 1780 in the southern states.

The campaign in the northern states was not marked with any important event. At the close of the preceding campaign, as has been already related, the American army retired to Middlebrook, in New-Jersey, where they built themselves huts. The winter that preceded this campaign, was one of the severest ever remembered in America. Being weakened by the expedition against Charleston, the British became apprehensive for their safety at New-York; which place, by the unexpected rigour of the winter, became deprived of those defensive advantages which its insular situation at other times afforded. By the middle of January, the North River, which constitutes its greatest natural defence, was so completely covered with thick ice, that the largest army, with the heaviest artillery and baggage, might have passed it on the ice with ease. The communication with the sea was cut off, and the ships of war, that remained for the defence of New-York, were frozen up in the ice.

General Knyphausen, who then commanded in New-York, took such measures for its defence as to ensure its safety. The seamen were landed from the ships and transports, and formed into companies; and the inhabitants were embodied, which took their routine of duty with the regular garrison.

Had the American army been in sufficient force for an attack, it is difficult to determine what might have been the consequence. But General Washington's army had been weakened by the large detachments drawn from it for the relief of the southern army. The Americans besides, suffered greatly from the scarcity of provisions and the want

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of all other necessaries. They were for some days entirely without bread, and the sufferings at last produced mutiny. The discontented regiments were however soon pacified, and returned to their duty. The thawing of the ice towards spring restored New-York to its insular situation, and intelligence of the mutinous disposition of the American army reaching New-York, together with the information that the inhabitants of the Jerseys were discontented with the new state of things, General Knyphausen was induced to detach a considerable force under Brigadiers General Mathew and Sterling, which landed at Elizabethtown, in the Jerseys, on the seventh of June. But the mutinous disposition amongst the soldiers of the American army, arose from distress, and not disaffection, and the British, instead of being received in the Jerseys as friends, found every where the Militia ready to oppose them. When they approached Springfield, a detachment from that army which was represented to be mutinous, was seen drawn up in force on the other side of the river ready to dispute their passage. The British troops in the evening returned to Elizabethtown. During this time Sir Henry Clinton arrived with his victorious troops from Charleston. He immediately ordered a reinforcement to Knyphausen, and the whole advanced a second time to Springfield. This post was now under the command of General Green, and Colonel Angel with his regiment and a piece of artillery was posted to secure the bridge in front of the town. The British army had marched at break of day in the morning of the twenty third of June, and arrived at Springfield with little interruption. The Americans were dislodged after a severe action which lasted forty minutes. They retreated to the heights in their rear, where they again took post, waiting for a second attack. But the British contented themselves with burning the town of Springfield, and returned to Elizabethtown. In the evening under cover of a redoubt, they passed over to Staten-Island. In this action the Americans lost about 80 killed and wounded, and the loss of the British was supposed to be considerably more. The precise object of this expedition was probably to gain possession of Morristown, and to destroy the Americans store. But the opposition made at Springfield indicated to the British commander, that every mile of his future march through a

country naturally difficult, would be no less obstinately disputed. This circumstance, and the expectation of a French fleet on the American coast, determined him to abandon the enterprize.

In this manner, hostilities were carried on in the Northern States. Houses were reduced to ashes, and individuals were killed, but nothing was effected which tended either to reconciliation or subjugation. Much mischief was done by the loyal Americans who had fled within the British lines. They reduced a predatory war into system. The coasts of the continent, and especially the maritime parts of New-Jersey became scenes of waste and havoc. They carried on a war of plunder in which the feelings of humanity were often suspended, and which tended to no valuable public purpose.

On the tenth of July, the long expected armament from France arrived at Rhode-Island. It consisted of seven Ships of the line, some Frigates and a number of transports, having on board Six Thousand troops: the fleet being commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay, and the troops by the Count de Rochambeau. The arrival of so considerable a reinforcement, diffused a general joy amongst the adherents of Congress throughout the American States, and excited them to fresh exertions. The American army, which from various causes, had been reduced to a state of imbecility, soon began again to make a respectable appearance. When the French fleet arrived at Rhode-Island, the British fleet under the command of Admiral Arbuthnot in the harbour of New-York consisted only of four sails of the line. This inferiority, however, was in three days reversed by the arrival of Admiral Graves with six sail of the line. The British commanders, having now a superiority, instead of waiting to be attacked, made preparations in their turn for acting offensively against the French at Rhode-Island. Admiral Arbuthnot, with the British Ships of war, sailed round Long-Island, and Sir Henry Clinton, after having embarked about eight thousand men, proceeded as far as Huntingdon-Bay, in the Sound, with the design of concurring with the British fleet, in attacking the French force at Rhode-Island. When this movement took place, General Washington, whose army had increased by considerable reinforcements, immediately set his troops in motion, and passed the North river and approached King's Bridge. By this unexpected movement

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New-York became exposed to an immediate attack. Sir Henry Clinton, under these circumstances, thought proper to abandon the expedition against Rhode-Island, and return with his troops for the protection of New-York. General Washington then drew off his army to a greater distance.

Admiral Arbuthnot, however, continued to block up the French fleet and army by sea, which incapacitated them from co-operating with the Americans. About this time another French fleet of twenty Ships of the line, under the command of Count de Guichen, was expected from the West-Indies. The New-England militia had assembled, and marched to Rhode-Island, and General Washington's army, as has been already mentioned, had been increased. With these different bodies, it was intended to attack New-York by land, whilst the United French fleets should block it up by sea. But when the expectations of the Americans were raised to the highest pitch, intelligence arrived that Count de Guichen had sailed for France. He had been so roughly handled in his different engagements with Admiral Rodney, in the West-Indies, and his Ships were in so shattered a condition, that instead of proceeding to America, according to the original design, he returned with his fleet to France. This disappointment was extremely mortifying to the Americans. They had made uncommon exertions, on the idea of receiving such an aid from their allies, as would enable them to strike some decisive blow.

While this campaign, in the Northern States, passed away in successive disappointments and distresses, treachery silently assisted to undermine the American cause. A deep laid scheme was formed by a distinguished officer, for delivering up to Sir Henry Clinton the strong post of West-Point, in the high lands upon the North river, the possession of which would have cut off all communication between the Northern and Middle provinces. The officer engaged in this foul design was General Arnold, a native of Connecticut, whose services and brilliant actions in the field had raised him to superior notice and regard. A luxurious life, unsupported by the resources of private fortune, had increased his debts beyond a possibility of his discharging them. He had been guilty of extortion, and misapplication of public money, and in these circumstances, a change of sides afforded the only hope of evading a scrutiny, and at the same time, held out a prospect of replenishing his exhausted resources. He open-

ed a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton : the delivering up the post at West Point, where he now commanded, was the service he promised to perform, and the interval of General Washington's absence,* was the time appointed for finishing the negotiation. The Vulture, British Sloop of war, was stationed in the North river, near enough to serve for the intended communication. Major Andre, Aid de Camp to Sir Henry Clinton, undertook to confer with Arnold, and bring the negotiation to a conclusion. For this purpose he repaired on board the Vulture Sloop. At night, a boat from the shore carried him to the beach, where he met General Arnold; and daybreak approaching before their business was finished, Major Andre was conducted to a place of safety, where he remained with Arnold during the day; and at night the boatmen, refusing to carry him on board the Vulture, because she had shifted her position during the day, in consequence of a gun being brought to bear upon her from the shore, he was reduced to the necessity of endeavouring to make his way to New-York by land. Laying aside his regimentals, he put on a plain suit of cloaths, and receiving a passport from General Arnold, under the assumed name of John Anderson, as if he had been sent down the country on public business, he set out on his return to New-York. This passport secured him from interruption at the American out posts; and he had already passed them all and thought himself out of danger, when three of the New-York militia, who had been sent out to patrol near the road along which he travelled, suddenly springing from the woods, seized the bridle of his Horse and stopped him. Major Andre instead of producing his pass, asked the men from whence they were, and being answered, "from below; meaning New-York," and so, said he, "am I," and declared himself a British Officer, and pressed that he might not be detained. He soon discovered his mistake, for his captors proceeded to search him, and having taken from his boot a packet, in the hand writing of General Arnold, determined to carry him to their commanding officer. It was in vain that he offered them a purse of gold and his

* General Washington, in order to concert new measures with the French commanders at Rhode-Island for their future operations, had an interview with them at Hartford in Connecticut.

watch, to suffer him to pass: his promises of an ample provision, and getting them promotion, if they would accompany him to New-York, were equally unavailing. They nobly disdained the proffered bribe, and delivered him a prisoner to Lieutenant Colonel Jameson, who commanded the scouting parties. In testimony of the high sense entertained of the virtuous and patriotic conduct of John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Vert, the captors of Andre, Congress resolved, "that each of them receive annually Two Hundred Dollars in Specie during life, and that the board of war be directed to procure for each of them a Silver Medal, on one side of which should be a shield with this inscription, *Fidelity*; and on the other the following Motto, *Vincit amor Patriæ*."

The unfortunate Andre was anxious to save General Arnold. Before Colonel Jameson, he continued to personate the supposed John Anderson, and requested that a messenger might be sent to General Arnold to acquaint him with his detention. This was inconsiderately granted. Arnold on the receipt of this letter abandoned every thing, went on board the Vulture Sloop, and in her proceeded to New-York. In the mean time General Washington returned from his interview with the French commanders, and being informed of what had passed during his absence, together with Arnold's escape, he reinforced the garrison of West-Point with a strong detachment from his army, and appointed a board of General Officers, to inquire into and report upon the case of Major Andre. On his examination he voluntarily confessed every thing that related to himself, and particularly that he did not come ashore under the protection of a flag. The board did not examine a single witness, but founded their report on his own confession. In this they stated the following facts, "that Major Andre came on shore on the night of the 21st of September in a private and secret manner, and that he changed his dress within the American lines and under a feigned name and disguised habit passed their works, and was taken in a disguised habit when on his way to New-York, and when taken, several papers were found in his possession, which contained intelligence for the enemy." They further reported it as their opinion "that Major Andre ought to be considered as a Spy, and that agreeable to the laws and usages of nations he ought to suffer death.

Sir Henry Clinton, whose esteem and regard Major Andre enjoyed in an eminent degree, immediately opened a correspondence with General Washington, by means of a flag of truce, and urged every motive which justice, policy, or humanity, could suggest, to induce a remission of the sentence. General Arnold in particular urged, that every thing done by Major Andre was done by his particular desire. An interview also took place between General Robertson on the part of the British, and General Green, on the part of the Americans. Every thing was urged by the former, that ingenuity or humanity could suggest for averting the proposed execution. But all efforts to save the unfortunate Andre were unavailing: his doom was irrevocably fixed. It was the general opinion of the American army that his life was forfeited, and that the national dignity and sound policy required that the forfeiture should be executed. Andre, though superior to the terrors of death, wished to die like a soldier. On the day previous to his execution, he wrote a letter to General Washington, fraught with sentiments of military dignity. But from an adherence to the usages of war, it was not thought proper to grant this request. On the second day of October this accomplished young officer met his fate, in the manner prescribed by his sentence, with a composure, serenity and fortitude, which astonished the beholders, and excited emotions of sympathy.

Thus fell the brave, but unfortunate Andre, whose life the British might have saved by exchanging him for Arnold, the worst man in the American army. The latter was made a Brigadier General in the service of the King of Great Britain. The execution of Andre, was the subject of severe censure, but it cannot be denied that the maxims of self preservation have uniformly guided the practice of hostile nations. It was more consonant to extended humanity, to take one life, than by ill timed lenity to lay a foundation, which might occasion not only the loss of many, but endanger the independence of a great country.

The approach of winter put an end to all further operations in the field. General Washington continued to occupy the high grounds bordering on the North river: the French troops remained at Rhode-Island: and the British troops went into winter quarters in New-York and its dependencies.

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TRANSACTIONS IN EUROPE AND THE WEST-INDIES, CONNECTED WITH THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

BUT the proceedings in Europe and the West-Indies now demand our attention. They had so direct an influence on the American war, that a short recapitulation of them becomes necessary.

When France first determined to acknowledge the Independence of the American colonies, and to enter into a treaty with them, Spain was solicited to join in it. But, however desirous this branch of the house of Bourbon, as well as the other, might have been to reduce the power of Great Britain, the Spanish minister delayed coming to an open rupture, until, from the certainty of uniting their naval force with that of France, they had reason to expect, not only to be able to protect their own trade from molestation, but by their combined fleets, to wrest the empire of the sea from the British nation. A French fleet sailed from Brest on the fourth of June 1779, steering for the coast of Spain, and on the sixteenth of the same Month a rescript was delivered to the British ministry, which announced the determination of the Spanish Court to join with France in the war. The French fleet joined that of Spain on the twenty fourth of June. Soon after the junction they steered for the British channel, consisting of more than sixty sail of the line, with nearly an equal number of frigates.

The British fleet then in the channel under the command of Sir Charles Hardy consisted of thirty eight ships of the line with a proportionate number of frigates. The great superiority of the combined fleet, and the preparations that were made on the French coast for an invasion of Great Britain, seemed to justify the forebodings of those who prognosticated the ruin of the British Empire. A strong easterly wind set in, and compelled Count d'Orvilliers, who commanded the combined fleet, to quit the channel. The same easterly wind had also driven the British fleet to sea, but as soon as it abated, Sir Charles Hardy regained his former station, and entered the channel in full view of the combined fleet, who did not attempt to molest him. Count d'Orvilliers continued for some time to cruise off the lands end, but at the approach of the Equinoctial gales, he quitted the channel and entered the harbour of Brest. Nothing there-

fore was done answerable to the great expectations that had been formed from the union and co-operation of two such powerful fleets.

In the mean time, Gibraltar was invested by the Spaniards both by land and sea; and the blockade was, formerly notified to all the maritime powers in amity with Spain, that they might not attempt to furnish it with supplies.

The critical situation of Gibraltar called for relief; and admiral Rodney being appointed to command the British fleet in the West-Indies, sailed for that station, with a reinforcement of ships, about the beginning of 1780. Under his convoy a fresh supply of provisions and stores for the relief of the garrison at Gibraltar was sent. He on his way fell in with 15 sail of Merchantmen, under a slight convoy, bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, and captured the whole. Several of the vessels were laden with provisions which being sent into Gibraltar proved a seasonable supply. In about a week after he fell in with a Spanish fleet of eleven sail of the line and two frigates, that were cruising off Cape St. Vincents, under the command of Don Juan Langara. An action ensued which lasted ten hours. The Spanish ship St. Domingo of 70 guns blew up and all on board perished. The Spanish Admirals ship, the Phœnix of 80 guns, with three of 70, were carried into Gibraltar. Two others had struck; but after the officers had been shifted, were driven on shore by the tempestuous weather, and one of them was entirely lost. Four ships of the line and two frigates escaped. The convoy being conducted safely to Gibraltar, Admiral Rodney, with the rest, proceeded to his station in the West Indies, and arrived at St. Lucie on the twenty seventh of March. Nothing however happened till the fifteenth of April, when, in the middle of the night, the Count de Guichen came out of Fort Royal harbour, in Martinique, and sailed with twenty three ships of the line, and a number of frigates. Intelligence being conveyed to Admiral Rodney, he also put to sea with twenty ships of the line. On the seventeenth they came to an action. The firing began about one, and did not cease till four in the afternoon, when the French Admiral bore away. The Count de Guichen remained at Cape Francois until the homeward bound trade from the French Islands had assembled, when taking it under his protection, he sailed, as has been already related, directly for Europe.

Before the end of 1780 the enemies of Great Britain were increased by the addition of the States General. The event which occasioned a formal declaration of war on the part of Great Britain was the capture of Henry Laurens. In the deranged state of American finances, he had been deputed by Congress to solicit a loan for their service in Holland; and also to negotiate a treaty between that country and the United States. But the vessel was taken on her passage to Europe, and with her Mr. Laurens and his papers; the box containing them, which had been thrown over board, having been prevented from sinking by the alertness of a British seaman. These papers having furnished the British Ministry with full evidence of what they had before suspected, the unfriendly disposition of the Dutch, they demanded instant satisfaction; and no satisfactory answer being returned by the States General within the time expected, the British Ambassador was recalled from the Hague, and on the twentieth of December, letters of reprisal were ordered to be issued against the Dutch. In the mean time Mr. Laurens was committed a close prisoner to the tower of London.

The storm of British vengeance first burst on the Dutch Island of St. Eustatius. It attracted the attention of the British, not from its intrinsic value, but as being a general deposit of merchandize, from whence not only the American colonies, but the French Islands also, derived considerable supplies. So great was the importation of merchandize into St. Eustatius, that the bulkier articles, for want of room in the Warehouses, lay in the Streets. The whole Island was a kind of natural fortification, and very capable of being made strong; but as its inhabitants were a mixture of transient persons, wholly intent on the gain of commerce, they were more solicitous to acquire property, than attentive to improve those means of security which the Island afforded; nor was it even provided with any thing like a sufficient garrison. On the third of February 1781, Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan, appeared before the Island with a large fleet and army. A summons was immediately sent to the governor, requiring him to surrender the Island; with which, knowing its defenceless state, he thought it prudent without delay to comply. The value of the merchandize thus surrendered was supposed to amount to four millions

MILITARY REPOSITORY.

sterling. All this property, together with what was found on the Island, was indiscriminately seized and declared to be confiscated. A Dutch frigate of thirty six guns, five ships of war of inferior force, and more than one hundred and fifty sail of merchantmen, were taken in the Bay; and a fleet of thirty ships richly laden, which had sailed from St. Eustatius for Holland, two days before its capture, were pursued, overtaken, and brought back, together with their convoy, a ship of sixty guns. The surrender of St. Eustatius was followed by that of the Islands of St. Martin and Saba, and the Dutch settlements upon the Spanish Main, bordering on the river Demarara and Issequibo.

The French made a fruitless attempt on the Island of St. Lucie, but soon after took the Island of Tobago.

During this time the Spaniards were employed upon the continent of America, in recovering the possessions which had been taken from them in the former war. In each of the two preceding years, they had already conquered a part of West-Florida; and in 1781 the conquest of the whole province was completed by the reduction of Pensacola.

Thus the French and Spaniards acted separately in their military operations abroad, but in Europe they undertook a joint expedition against the Island of Minorca. A French fleet of eighteen ships of the line sailed from Brest towards the end of June, and in the following month joined the Spanish fleet at Cadiz. The principal armament destined against Minorca was prepared at Cadiz, consisting of ten thousand men, with a suitable train of artillery, commanded by the Duke de Crillon, a French General. Under the convoy of the combined fleets, this armament arrived in safety at Minorca, and was landed upon the Island on the twentieth of August. They were soon afterwards joined by a considerable body of French troops from Toulon, and St. Philip's Castle, the principal fortress of the Island was then regularly invested. In consequence of the brave defence made by the garrison, the siege was protracted until the 5th of February 1782, when the fort was surrendered, and the whole Island restored to the crown of Spain, after it had been in possession of Great Britain about seventy four years. Nearly about the same time the Island of St. Christophers in the West-Indies was reduced by the Marquis de Bouille.

The French and Spanish fleets, after having conveyed the armament, against Minorca as already related, as far as the straits of Gibraltar, and seen it safely into the Mediterranean, altered their course, and sailed for the coast of England, with orders to fight the British fleet. When they arrived off the mouth of the channel, they extended themselves in a line across it from the Islands of Scilly to Ushant, amounting in all to seventy sail, fifty of them being of the line, and some of these of the largest rate. The attention of all Europe and America was again directed to the operations of so powerful a fleet. But Admiral Darby, who was then cruising in the channel, with the British fleet consisting of only twenty one ships of the line having received information of their approach, prudently withdrew into Torbay, to wait for a reinforcement. In this situation, vast as their superiority was, the combined fleets did not dare to attack him. Early in the month of September they separated, the French fleet steering for Brest, and that of Spain for Cadiz.

In the spring of this year a British squadron under the command of Admiral Hyde Parker had sailed for the North Sea in order to protect the British trade to the Baltic. Admiral Hyde Parker on his return to England, with a large fleet under his convoy, upon the Dogger Bank fell in with a Dutch squadron that was conveying a fleet of merchantmen bound to the Baltic. From some cause or other, one of the Dutch line of battle ships, had returned into port, but Admiral Zauttman, the Dutch commander, at the approach of the British Squadron substituted a forty four gun ship, carrying heavy metal, and without practising any manœuvres to avoid a decisive engagement, prepared to dispute the day with his opponent by dint of hard fighting. The British fleet being to windward, bore down upon that of Admiral Zauttman. But no gun was fired on either side, until the two Squadrons came so near as to be within half musquet shot, when the action began and continued with unremitting fury for three hours and a half, at the end of which both fleets were so disabled, that neither of them could form the line and renew the action. They separated, after having laid to for some time, at a small distance from each other, repairing their damages. Although no ship was taken on either side, this was by far the hardest fought battle of any that had yet happened by sea during the war. The Dutch Squadron consisted of eight

ships, of two Decks: that of Admiral Parker consisted of seven.

In the first year of the war between Great Britain and France, the power of the latter in India was almost annihilated. The British took the greatest part of their possessions, and the Islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, with the port of Mahie, on the continent of Asia, were all the possessions that remained to them in that quarter of the world. Nevertheless they maintained their influence with the native powers. War was excited between Hyder Ally Cawn, regent of the Mysore country, and the English company, which threatened destruction to the British interest. Hyder's country is separated from the territories belonging to the India company by a chain of mountains called the Ghauts. From these mountains, Hyder, in the Month of June, 1780, had descended with an army of an hundred thousand men, who spread themselves like a torrent over the country below. Hyder's troops, after having ravaged the dominions of the East-India company on the coast of Caromandel, were finally driven within their own country, yet this invasion greatly encreased the embarrassments of Great Britain. And whilst in almost every part of the globe, she was availing herself of her maritime power, Russia, Sweden and Denmark formed a combination under the name of, The Armed Neutrality, in which Russia took the lead. Her trading vessels had long been harassed by British searches and seizures, on pretence of their carrying on a commerce inconsistent with neutrality, and the present embarrassed state of Great Britain favoured the re-establishment of the laws of nature. A declaration was published by the empress of Russia, addressed to the courts of London, Versailles and Madrid. In this it was observed "that her Majesty found it necessary to remove the vexations which had been offered to the commerce of Russia, but before she came to any serious measures, she thought it just and equitable to expose to the world and particularly to the belligerent powers, the principles adopted for her conduct, which were as follows: that neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation even from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent powers, that all effects belonging to belligerent powers, should be looked on as free on board such neutral ships, with an exception of places actually blocked up or besieged and with a proviso that they do not carry to the enemy contraband articles."

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These were limited by an explanation so as to "comprehend only warlike stores and ammunition." And her imperial Majesty farther declared, that "she was firmly resolved to maintain these principles, and that with a view of protecting the navigation of her subjects, she had given orders to fit out a considerable part of her naval force." The kings of Sweden and Denmark, as well as the States General, formally acceded to these principles. The Queen of Portugal was the only sovereign who refused to concur. By this combination a respectable guarantee was procured to a commerce, from which France and Spain procured a plentiful supply of articles essentially conducive to a vigorous prosecution of the war, and whereby the usurped authority of Great Britain on the highway of nature received a fatal blow.

SEVENTH CAMPAIGN, 1781.

FROM this general view of the transactions in other parts of the world, we must now return to North America, the grand theatre of the war.

Soon after the reception of Arnold into the British service, he published an address to his countrymen, wherein he endeavored to detach the American soldiery from the service of Congress. They had long remained without pay, and without other necessities, yet they remained steady, despising Arnold and his offers. At length, however, their long sufferings and complicated distresses broke out into deliberate mutiny. This event which had been long expected, made its first threatening appearance in the Pennsylvania line. Sir Henry Clinton, by confidential messengers, offered to take them under the protection of the British government. He recommended that they should move behind the South river, in New-Jersey, where a corps of British troops would be ready for their protection. But Clinton's messenger's were seized by the soldiers and delivered to General Wayne. Their sufferings had exhausted their patience, but not their patriotism. A board of officers tried and condemned the British spies, and they were instantly executed. The complaints of the soldiers being founded in justice, were redressed, and the revolt completely quelled.

At this period of the war, there was little or no circulating medium, either in the form of paper or specie; And in the neighborhood of the American army, there was a real want of necessary provisions. At length the bills of credit of the rulers of America ceased to circulate. But in this crisis new resources were opened, and the war was carried on with the same vigour as before. A great deal of gold and silver was about this time introduced into the United States, by a beneficial trade with the French and Spanish West-India Islands, and by means of the French army in Rhode-Island. The king of France gave the United States a subsidy of six millions of livres, and became their security for ten millions more, borrowed for their use, in the United Netherlands.

While the Americans were thus suffering the complicated calamities which introduced the year 1781, the British were carrying on the most extensive plan of operation which had ever been attempted since the war.

In the fall of the preceding year, the loss of Major Ferguson's detachment obliged Lord Cornwallis to return from his northern expedition and fall back to Wynnesborough in South-Carolina. Still, however the projected movement into North-Carolina was deemed so essential, that he only waited for a reinforcement to renew it. Major Gen. Leslie, with about two thousand men, had been detached from New-York to the Chesapeak in the latter end of last year, with a view to favour Lord Cornwallis's designs in the Southern States; but subsequent events induced Cornwallis to order him from Virginia to Charlestown. Soon after the departure of Gen. Leslie, Virginia was again invaded by another detachment from New-York under the command of Gen. Arnold, for the double purpose of destroying the American stores, and of assisting, by means of a diversion, the operations of Lord Cornwallis in the two Carolinas. A plan was formed by General Washington for entrapping Arnold. With this view, the Marquis de la Fayette with twelve hundred of the American infantry was detached to Virginia, whilst a French fleet with fifteen hundred additional men on board, sailed from Rhode-Island for the same state. D'Estouches, who, since the death of de Ternay on the preceding December, had commanded the French fleet, previ-

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ous to the sailing of his whole naval force, dispatched the *Eveill *, a sixty-four gun ship, and two frigates, with orders to destroy the British ships and frigates in the Chesapeake. These took or destroyed ten vessels, and captured the *Romulus* of 44 guns. Admiral Arbuthnot with a British fleet sailed from Gardiner's bay in pursuit of D'Estouches, and overtook the latter off the Capes of Virginia. An engagement took place, which ended without the loss of a ship on either side; but the British obtained the fruits of victory, so far as to frustrate the whole scheme of their adversaries. The French fleet returned to Rhode-Island.

Arnold with his detachment had landed about fifteen miles below Richmond, on the 5th of January; and in two days marched into the town, where they destroyed large quantities of tobacco, salt, rum, sail-cloth, and other merchandise. In about a fortnight, they marched to Portsmouth and began to fortify it. A reinforcement of two thousand British troops, under the command of General Philips, arrived in the Chesapeake on the twenty-sixth of march. This General, after having made a junction with Arnold, assumed the command of the whole British force in Virginia.

The whole country being open to their excursions the British spread themselves in all directions, defeating those bodies of militia which came in their way. After leaving a garrison at Portsmouth, and detaching a party to York-town, the main body of the British army proceeded by water to Williamsburgh; and on the 22d of April they reached Chickapowing. A party proceeded up that river, and destroyed much property. On the 24th they landed at City-point, and soon after marched for Petersburg, where they destroyed four thousand hogheads of tobacco, a ship, and a number of small vessels. At Chesterfield court-house they burnt a range of barracks, and three hundred barrels of flour. Another party, under the command of General Arnold, marched to Osborn's. About four miles above that place, a small marine force was drawn up to oppose him. Arnold advanced with some artillery, and firing upon the American vessels with decisive effect from the banks, captured two ships and ten small vessels, loaded with tobacco, cordage, and flour. A number of vessels were burnt or sunk, and twelve

hundred hogheads of tobacco destroyed. At Manchester, they destroyed upwards of twelve hundred hogheads of tobacco, and at Warmic they destroyed the ships on the stocks, and in the river, and a large range of rope-walks. A number of ware-houses, filled with different commodities, were also consumed in one general conflagration. On the second of May, the British troops were reembarked, and returned to Petersburg, after having in the course of the preceding three weeks destroyed property to an immense amount. General Philips, after a few days illness, died at Petersburg, and the command of the British troops devolved again on General Arnold.

The reinforcement under the command of General Leslie arrived at Charleston on the thirteenth of December, and Lord Cornwallis began his march six days after.

General Greene, who had succeeded General Gates in the command of the American army, finding it difficult to procure a sufficient supply of provisions in the neighborhood of Charlotte; and being sensible that his present force, which consisted of about 2000 men only, was too weak to attempt any direct operation against Lord Cornwallis, resolved to divide it, and to harraßs the British out-posts on the frontiers of South-Carolina. A detachment of light troops, consisting of three hundred infantry, one hundred and seventy riflemen, and seventy light dragoons, were put under the command of General Morgan, who was directed to proceed to the heads of the rivers to the Western frontiers of South Carolina, and threaten the British post at Ninety-Six; whilst the rest of the army under General Greene should march to the Pedee, and alarm the country in front of Camden. Lord Cornwallis, having received intelligence of this movement, detached Colonel Tarleton with the British legion infantry, the seventh regiment, a battalion of the seventy-first regiment three hundred and fifty cavalry, two field pieces, and an adequate detachment of the royal artillery, in all about one thousand men. He received orders to pass Broad river, and to oblige Morgan to leave the country.

(To be Continued.)

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Of Subordination.

EVERY military man knows, that subordination consists in a perfect submission to the orders of superiors ; in a perfect dependence, regulated by the rights and duties of every military man, from the private soldier to the general. Subordination ought to shew the spirit of the chief in all the members, and this single idea, which displays itself to the least attention, suffices to shew its importance.

Without subordination it is impossible that a corps can support itself ; that its motions can be directed, order established, or the service carried on. In effect, it is subordination that gives a soul and harmony to the service ; it gives strength to authority, and merit to obedience, it supports the staff of the marshal as the sword of the soldier, which secures the efficacy of the command, and the honour of the execution ; it is subordination which prevents every disorder, and procures every advantage to an army. But if it secures the rights of superiors, it likewise makes them answerable for the consequences ; and if it reduces inferiors to blind subjection, it at the same time secures them from all reproach : so true it is, that in the failure of all enterprizes, the fault is laid on the commander alone, obedience justifying the rest.

The voices of the officers, the waving of the colours and standards, the sound of trumpets, and the noise of drums, are so many echoes which explain and extend the orders of authority, to which every inferior owes a ready, respectful, and implicit submission. Such a solid obedience is always the fruit of the confidence, respect, and affection, which a corps has for its chief ; it is then very important for the commander, and all his officers, to endeavour to inspire the men with these sentiments, and to fix them by a reciprocal attention to the character and wants of every individual.

Nevertheless, in spite of necessity, and all the advantages of subordination ; in spite of the merit and good conduct of superiors, there happen a thousand occasions, where ambition, interest, libertinism, or fear, seek to violate it. There are dangerous characters, restless, jealous, turbulent spirits,

vain, presumptuous, criticising souls, whom a superior ought to observe with care, to check their arrogance, and prevent their mutiny, by remedies which prudence suggests, and authority allows. He will employ promises and good offices to cure the timidity of the weak, to excite their hope, raise their courage, and form their valour: he will equally put a stop to all the disorders of libertinism, and all the plunderings of a criminal avidity, by threatnings and chastisements regulated by equity, and the necessity of making examples.

The most dangerous and common source from whence the very poison of subordination insensibly distills, is the violent impatience, or insupportable brutality of those who command, which excites resentment, revenge, and despair. Licentious and criticising discourses tend to murmurs, complaints and mutiny: mean complaisance or low familiarities debase and destroy every consideration of essential respect. The instant an officer descends to be familiar with the men, all authority is subverted, and no obedience to be hoped for; on the contrary, the first urgent occasion he will find them mutiny and resist his commands; he cannot be too attentive in keeping them at a proper distance, and preserving the strictest subordination. The relaxation of discipline is at all times the destruction of soldiers, and shame of officers; who are less dishonoured by want of courage than want of application in their profession, and Marshal Saxe says, that we ought not to believe that subordination and servile obedience debases courage, for it has always been seen, that where the discipline has been most severe, the greatest actions have been done by the troops where it has been established.

OF THE RETREAT.

EVERY march in withdrawing from the enemy is called a retreat. That which is done in sight of the enemy, who pursues with a superior force, makes our present subject; and is, with reason, looked upon as the glory of the profession. It is a manœuvre the most delicate, and the properest to display the prudence, genius, courage, and address of an officer who commands; the histories of all ages testify it, and historians have never been so lavish of eulogiums as on the subject of the brilliant retreats of their heroes. If it is

important, it is no less difficult to regulate, on account of the variety of circumstances, each of which demand different principles, and an almost endless detail.

The success of the retreat depends upon the knowledge of the country that is to be passed over, and the goodness of the disposition that is made for the troops to defend themselves. The first offers advantages, and contributes infinitely to the seizing them; the second restrains the ardor of the enemy, and keeps up the force of a party to its highest pitch. Both deserve to be studied.

Every officer who commands a detachment ought to apply himself carefully to reconnoitre every step he takes, and examine perfectly every route that can conduct him from one place to another; he should observe attentively all the stratagems that can be employed for ambushing infantry, or posting cavalry; the course of rivers, their bridges and fords; the roads most covered with woods, hills, gullies, and villages; and in a word he should know all the advantages, as well as the dangers that lie in his way.

The dispositions that ought to be made for a party, to sustain their retreat in the face of the enemy, depends upon the number and kind of troops in both corps; for they must be varied according as they happen to be of cavalry or infantry united, or either singly.

Every forced retreat in consequence of an unfortunate action, would be almost impracticable, if it were not premeditated before we come in presence of the enemy, or when we are obliged to fly by unknown routes. That which can be made in a fog, or in the night, is easiest, when our rear is secured, as we can easily slip out of sight of the enemy without any difficulty, and they will be afraid of following us for fear of being surprised in the dark: we shall only therefore speak of that which is to be made in open day, and under the fire of the enemy.

To conduct it properly, we must absolutely know the strength of the enemy; for it is shameful to be the dupe of a false alarm, and to retreat precipitately from an ill-founded fear at the approach of an inferior enemy. We must therefore be convinced of his great superiority, and know what his party consists of.

If they come with a strong cavalry, united to a more numerous infantry than ours, we must immediately render their

acting useless, by hurrying our infantry as quick as possible to retreat to the first place where they can lie in ambush, and serve the cavalry advantageously, if they can draw on those of the enemy.

To conceal from the enemy, and favour the departure of our infantry, we should cause our cavalry to advance, and pretend as if they were going to attack the enemy.

When the force of the enemy consists of cavalry alone, our infantry should retire jointly with the cavalry, at least if the country does not expose us to be surrounded by some covered place; because in that case our infantry should go and occupy that place, and form an ambuscade.

The rest of the infantry should place themselves in the second line of each division. If the enemy approaches the first line too near, they should fall lightly back upon the two wings of the second, opening the centre quickly for the infantry, to fire upon the enemy in platoons, at the same time that our cavalry detach several small parties to advance briskly to prevent the enemy's forming, who were thrown into confusion by the fire of the infantry. The division which retires will force its march, and go to a greater or less distance according to the pursuit of the enemy. The sustaining division must fall back afterwards till it has passed between the wings of the second division, who must then make the manœuvre of the first, continuing it alternately till the enemy desists from the pursuit.

To facilitate the retreat of the infantry, and gain some way on the enemy, many have been of opinion that they ought to transport them in waggons: but when the enemy is at our heels, the time is very ill employed in collecting carriages, and harnessing them; those moments are too precious, and should be employed in causing the infantry to move off quickly, by which they will not be exposed to a train of waggons taken in haste, which may soon break, or be put out of order, and may stop the whole line, which not only retards the infantry, but likewise the cavalry, when they find the route they were to have taken blocked up with broken carriages.

The case is different when the enemy is at some distance, or that we have already got some way before him; then if a waggon breaks, it may be thrown immediately out of the road, and each horse of the carriage may carry two soldiers, or be distributed to other carriages. If many are broke, a

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part of the men should run on foot for some time till they are tired, and then they may change with others, according to necessity or the possibility of the case.

When there happens to be a wood in our rear, we need not enter it if the enemy follows us close, and is prevented by our strength; it is better to coast along it; but if we cannot avoid crossing it, one division should pass quickly, and at getting out face to the two flanks of the wood. Another is to remain at the entrance of it, till they judge that the division is sufficiently advanced, and then fall back, leaving the infantry for a rear-guard, during the whole passage through the wood; at which time the whole should resume their first disposition.

In all defiles, and passages of bridges, the same manoeuvre should be used as for woods: but the first division having passed, they should form facing the enemy; and the infantry likewise draw up on the other side, upon the edge of the river.

When the country through which we are to retire happens to be mountainous, the division which falls back should guard the heights by small detached parties, or if possible, guard them themselves.

A body of cavalry retreating without infantry, ought to form in three lines at two hundred paces behind one another; the two last extending their front, that they may appear more numerous, and draw up on the two sides out of the road, the second is to sustain it, the third to wait the retreat of the first, and to sustain the second, and continue to do so alternately.

If the enemy seem to quit the pursuit, the whole corps must resume the order of an ordinary march; with this precaution, that the rear-guard be reinforced, and the advanced guard weakened.

As to the retreat of a small detachment of cavalry, such as go to reconnoitre the enemy, to discover their march, to carry off some officer, or for some other commission, as they are not numerous enough to skirmish, and retreat by rule, they have but two ways to choose; either to fly, or break through the enemy. They ought to determine for the last, when their retreat is cut off on all sides, so that they have no other way to escape but by cutting their way through the enemy sword in hand; but flight is always less hazardous when it is practicable.

If the officer is certain of the fidelity of his men, and their attachment to him, and sees that they cannot get out of fight of the enemy, but are ready to fall into their hands, he ought to try one means still, which has been known frequently to succeed. He should disperse his party by two and two, by the favour of the first covered place, where they may be at liberty to take so many different routes. It is evident, that two men may wind from right to left, and escape more easily than a party of twelve or twenty, who cannot move so freely.

In a forced retreat, prudence requires that we should sacrifice every thing to preserve life and liberty; therefore we must not hesitate a moment in disincumbering ourselves of every thing that can burden us, or retard our march. Equipages, booty, prisoners, all must go, that we may think only of the means of making our retreat most expeditiously.

Of the Exercise.

THE exercise is the first part of the military art, and the more it is considered, the more essential it will appear. It frees their bodies from the rusticity of simple nature, and forms men and horses to all the evolutions of war; upon it depends the honour, merit, appearance, strength, and success of a corps; while we see the greatest corps for want of being exercised instantly disordered, and the disorder increasing in spite of command; the confusion oversets the art of the skilfullest masters, and the valour of the men only serves to precipitate the defeat.

The greatest advantage derived from the exercise, is the expertness with which men become capable of loading and firing, and teaching them an attention to act in conformity with those around them. The men ought to be informed of the uses of the different manoeuvres they have been practising. Though the parade be the place to form the characters of soldiers, and teach them uniformity, yet being confined to that alone, is too limited and mechanical for a true military genius.

Great industry and patience is necessary to form the habits of horses for the cavalry service, and were they accustomed

ed constantly to hear all the noises of war, and to see fire and smoke immediately before feeding, they would not only be sooner reconciled, but from the hopes of feeding would be easily led into action. To the usual exercises, the cavalry, especially those of the partisan should be accustomed to galloping, leaping ditches, and swimming rivers.

The men of every corps should be accustomed to breaking, running, rallying, and forming quickly; but above all things to know, that though they may be a little disordered and huddled together from the pressure of the enemy, that they are not therefore broke and to run away; but while they keep with their company and corps are still in a condition to act.

Of the Qualifications necessary in a Partisan.

OF all military employments, there is none which requires more extraordinary qualities than that of the partisan. Without entering into too minute a detail, we shall only mention the more indispensable, whether on the side of favours from nature, or habits acquired by his own particular attention.

A good partisan ought to have an imagination fertile in projects, schemes, and resources; a penetrating spirit, capable of combining the whole circumstances of an action; a heart intrepid against every appearance of danger; a steady countenance, always assured, and that no signs of disquiet can alter; a happy memory, that can call every one by his name; a disposition alert, robust, and indefatigable, to carry him through every thing, and give a soul to the whole; a piercing rapid eye, which instantly catches faults or advantages, obstacles and dangers of situation, of country, and every object as it passes; his sentiments such, as to fix the respect, confidence, and attachment of the whole corps. Without these dispositions, it is impossible to succeed.

A partisan ought to understand different languages, to converse with all nations. He ought to have a perfect knowledge of the service, especially light troops, without being ignorant of the enemy's. He should have the exactest map of the theatre of the war, examine it well, and become perfect master of it. It would be very advantageous to have some good geographers under his command, capable of draw-

ing plans, routes of armies, situation of camps, wherever they may have occasion to reconnoitre.

He ought to spare nothing to be assured by his spies of the march, force, designs, and position of the enemy. These discoveries will enable him to serve his general essentially, and must contribute infinitely to the safety of the army, the support, happiness, and glory of his own corps. His honour and interest, requires that he should keep a secretary, to make a journal of their campaign, to write down all orders which he either receives or gives; and in general every action or march of the corps, so as to be able at all times to give an account of his conduct, and to justify himself against the attacks of criticism, which are never spared to a partisan.

As chief, he owes the example of an irreproachable conduct to his corps circumspect in his cares like the affection of a parent, by which he will inspire respect, love, zeal, and vigilance, and gain the hearts of the whole to his service. It is extremely dangerous for such an officer to contract the least attachment to women, wine, or riches. The first makes him neglect his duty, and frequently occasions the most ruinous treacheries: the second leads the dangerous indiscretions, and is sure to draw down contempt. The third leads to guilt, and destroys all sentiments of honour. The partisan must be content without the delicacies of the table, as he may be often exposed to want provision. His bed the same with the mens, a cloak and straw, never stripping but to change linen. Nothing animates soldiers so much, as the presence and vigilance of a commanding officer sharing with them the fatigues of the service; the officers follow his example, the men are assured, encouraged, and content.

Nothing can be so dangerous to the safety of a corps, as a commander of a delicate indolent habit, for when officers are seen at their ease passing day and night at table, abandoning the safety of the post to the vigilance of the guard, who (not being responsible for the commissions of their officers) insensibly neglect their duty, and expose themselves to be easily surprised; when the blow is struck, then they lament, complain, and throw the blame on one another, but the general will make it fall upon the commanding officer.

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OF THE DIFFERENT MILITARY ORDERS.

I. Order of St. Louis in France.

THE first order for military men, was that of St. Louis. It was instituted in the year 1693, by Louis XIV with this device, *bellicæ virtutis*. A few, however, were nominated of this order, who were not military men.*

There are some of the chevaliers, who besides the usual mark of the order, wear an embroidered silver cross, on the left breast to distinguish them, and are called *Grand Croix*. These have an appointment of between three and four thousand livres a year. Those who have the common cross of St. Louis, receive from eight hundred to two thousand livres a year appointment. Few, however, either of the grand or common *Croix*, received any appointments with them, on account of the great number of Chevaliers; though four hundred and fifty thousand livres are annually distributed by the state, in support of the order.

Besides the order of St. Louis, there was instituted in France, in the year 1759, by Louis XV. the military order of merit, for such officers as were protestants. In the year 1785, there were thirty-two thousand livres annually appropriated for this order, of which two *Grand Croix* were to receive each four thousand livres; and four commanders, three thousand livres each; the remaining ten thousand livres were given to the oldest Chevaliers, in pensions, from two to eight hundred livres each.

The order of St. Louis, as well as the military order of merit, should be conferred on those only, who have acquired fame in a military line, and performed some valiant action; but this is no longer attended to, and the order is given to those who have connections, and can make interest. From an accurate calculation, it appears there are fifteen thousand Chevaliers in France, of the order of St. Louis, of whom four hundred and fifty only, receive any pension.

* This account is previous to the French revolution. By the new order of things, Military orders, like all other marks of distinction, are abolished.

MILITARY REPOSITORY.

This order is so common, that there is not even a list of the Chevaliers, and in order to prevent its being worn by those who have no title to it, an order was issued in 1786, that no silversmith should make a *croix de St. Louis* without permission from the minister at war. The silversmiths are consequently prevented from making Chevaliers. But what would be the punishment, should any one, notwithstanding, have a *Croix* made?

II. *Prussian Military Order of Merit.*

THIS order was instituted in 1740, by *Frederic II.* king of Prussia, expressly for military people. At first it was given to *Voltaire*, and a few others who were not military men; but soon after was bestowed only on officers. There is no pension assigned to it, and it is given by the king, to those who are men of merit in the military line, or who have performed some gallant action.

In the year 1787, there were one hundred and eighty-two officers belonging to this order, fifty-one of whom had received it at the review, fifty-nine in the war of 1778, and seventy-two in the seven years war.

To those who receive it at the reviews, it is intended as a recompence for the zeal and activity they have manifested in exercising their regiments; for this reason the order at such times, is given to the commanders of regiments and battalions only.

It is not known, that the order was ever bestowed on officers, merely for their scientific skill. Before the war of 1778, no officer of the artillery, or in the engineers ever had it, and in that war only, a Major of Anhalt's received it.

A plain corporal received it for inventing the conic-touch-hole.

III. *Order of the Sword in Sweden.*

THE order of the sword, was renewed by *Frederic*, king of Sweden, in 1748. All the princes of the blood, and every officer who had served twenty years with bravery and valour in time of war, may be made Chevalier. One years service in war time, is reckoned for three years in time of peace. If an officer has been wounded, and was victorious, he may be made Chevalier though he should not have served the number of years required.

In this order are twenty-four Commanders, to which no person can be admitted, who has not the rank of Colonel.

In the year 1774, there were twenty-nine *Grand Croix*, twenty-four Commanders, and one thousand and sixty-seven Chevaliers. Each Chevalier, when he is admitted, pays into the treasury a fine of one hundred and two dollars.

IV. *Order of Maria Theresa, for the Austrian Officers.*

THIS order was instituted after the battle of Colin. No person can be admitted into this order, according to its original institutes, either on the plea of birth, long service, wounds, much less through favor, or the protection of others. It is absolutely requisite to have performed some valiant action, and that it be sufficiently authenticated. This must be set forth by a description of the very act, in which the officer thus distinguished himself, signed and sealed by six officers, or if there were not so many present, by double the number of non-commissioned officers and privates.

If the officer who solicits the order, was under the command of another officer who was present at the action, then his testimony is requisite. The chapter of the order from the description given, decides whether it may or may not be bestowed. It is laid down as a rule, that all actions which might have been omitted without imputation of cowardice, but which have been undertaken, merit the order.

For instance, if an officer ventures an attack without a particular order, and concerts all his measures, not only with prudence, but shews personal valour; if he animates by his example the men under his command, and storms a redoubt; if he should observe an opening among the troops of the enemy, and seize the opportunity without waiting for orders; if he should offer himself on any dangerous enterprize; if in an engagement with the regiment, battalion, squadron, company, or men under his command, he should of his own accord make a movement, by which some advantage was gained; or if he should form any practicable scheme or project, in all these cases the small *Croix* is given. But if with the gallantry of the action, a consummate prudence of conduct was united, then the *Grand Croix* is given.

The order is given without any regard to religion or rank, from the highest officer down to the ensign.

The *Grand Croix* receive annually 1,500 florins each; or about £. 150 sterling. One hundred Chevaliers have each 600 florins, or about £. 60 sterling. Another hundred receive 400 florins, or £. 40 sterling. Half of the pension goes to the widow of a Chevalier when he dies. Besides, the Chevaliers have rank at court with general officers, and to those who require it, the diploma of Baronet must be given gratis.

V. *The Austrian military order for non-commissioned officers and privates, instituted in the year 1778, by Joseph II. emperor of Germany.*

TILL this order was instituted in Austria, actions of signal valor, performed by private soldiers, when they reached the ears of their officers, were always rewarded with money, but such rewards were supposed to give to those who received them, only a momentary satisfaction, and did not tend to exalt sufficiently, the feelings of the person who received it, from the remembrance of his valiant conduct, nor to excite emulation enough among his comrades.

His imperial majesty, *Joseph II.* resolved, therefore, to rescue from oblivion such gallant actions as private soldiers performed, by rewarding them in such a manner, that if the men who performed them were married, their merit might redound to their posterity, in order to animate others to a desire of glory, and of serving the state.

This mark of honor, consists in a beautiful gold or silver medal, the distribution of which is left to the general, commanding the force in the field.

He who receives this mark of honor, is entitled to wear it publicly, in or out of service, and has likewise an increase of pay.

His imperial majesty's intentions, respecting this mark of honor, may be seen by the following regulations :

I. This medal, destined for the non-commissioned officers and privates, is not to be looked upon as an ORDER ; it is the reward of valor, in time of war, and a public mark of honor for those who have distinguished themselves in any particular action.

II. Every soldier from the sergeant-major downward, as well of infantry as cavalry, artillery, sappers, miners, ponto-

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neers, chasseurs, pioneers, &c. is qualified for this honor, if he has distinguished himself in any one action.

Foreigners, as well as natives, who are in his imperial majesty's service, may have this honor conferred on them.

IV. To him alone can this mark of honor be given, who has performed some gallant action, not any rash, stupid, foolhardy deed, but an action that has contributed to the good of the service, or to the preservation of an officer's life, which was in danger at the moment of a victory, or to the success of any undertaking; and provided such action was done in the presence of witnesses to be relied on.

V. This mark of honor therefore, cannot be given to whole squadrons or companies who have distinguished themselves, when led on by their officers, it must be some individual gallant action, which makes him who has performed it worthy of the honor.

VI. The silver medals are for less gallant actions, and the gold for the most distinguished. A non-commissioned officer, may therefore gain a silver medal, and a private a gold one. He likewise, who has a silver medal, may by another gallant action, obtain the gold medal, on giving back the silver one. But he who has a gold medal, and performs another valliant action, is rewarded with a sum of money.

VII. Great circumspection is to be used in distributing these medals, that their honorary value may not be lessened by making them too common. Therefore the General alone who is in command on the spot, must decide, whether a silver or a gold medal is to be given, and when the silver is to be exchanged for the gold one.

VIII. He who has this mark of honor conferred on him, by the decision of the commanding general, is to receive it publicly, in presence of the rest of the soldiers, from the hands of the commanding officer of the regiment, battalion, or other corps, and he is to wear it fastened by the ribbon to the button of his coat.

IX. The person who obtains a silver medal, receives an addition of one half to his usual pay, and he who gets a gold one receives double pay, and it makes no difference, whether a private soldier becomes afterwards a non-commissioned officer, or if a soldier comes from the cavalry to the infantry or from the infantry to the cavalry.

X. Every non-commissioned officer or private, who shall have received this mark of honor, is to retain it with the advance of pay, even if he should afterwards obtain the rank of commissioned officer.

XI. He also retains it, with the additional pay, if he should be sent to the hospital, or get leave of absence, or even if he should be removed to the invalids.

XII. Should he, however, be punished for any crime, by order of a court-martial, in that case he loses both the medal and the additional pay.

XIII. Whoever loses his medal at play, forfeits both the right of wearing it, and his additional pay.

XIV. If it can be proved, that the medal has been stolen or that it has been lost, another is given in lieu of it.

XV. The medal remains to the widow or children of the deceased. If the person possessing it, had no wife or child, it is to be returned by the commanding officer of the corps or regiment to the commanding general.

XVI. Natives as well as Foreigners, on quitting the service, are allowed to take their medal with them as a well earned military honor. But when their usual pay ceases, the additional pay is no longer given.

VI. *Order of St. Charles.*

THIS order was instituted by the Duke of Wirtemberg, in 1759.

VII. *Order of St. George.*

THIS order was instituted in 1769 for the Russian military, and is given only in war time. It has a device inscribed in the Russian language, signifying *for virtue and merit*. There are 40,000 rubles assigned in pensions for those possessing this order. The first class of Chevaliers receives 700 rubles; the second class 400; the third 200; and the fourth, 100 rubles each. In the year 1788 there were of the

1st. Class	4 Chevaliers.
2d. Ditto	8 Ditto
3d. Ditto	48 Ditto
4th. Ditto	237 Ditto

Each Chevalier must have served 18 years by sea, or 25 by land, before he can be received into this order.

VIII. *Hessian order of Military Prowess.*

THIS order was instituted in 1769 ; and is given to any officer who distinguishes himself in that service.

IX. *Order of Cincinnatus, for the States of America.*

THIS order was instituted in 1788, but it was never carried into execution.

MEMOIRS OF THE

LIFE OF MARSHALL TURENNE

HENRY de la Tour D'Auvergne, viscount Turenne, was born at Sedan, Sept. 11th 1611. He possessed all those virtues which constitute the hero, and which were heightened still more by a simplicity of manners, that served them as a foil ; he was in stature about the middle size, well proportioned ; he possessed none of those brilliant qualities, which make a man shine in a drawing room or a rout ; but, on the other hand, he had great military skill, profound judgment and invincible courage, cool and steady in the heat of action, but quick and ready to seize the most sudden advantage ; he never fought any of those decisive battles, that determine the fate of empires ; yet he was esteemed the greatest general in Europe, at the time the military art was brought to its greatest perfection, as he knew always how to repair a mistake, and make the smallest incidents turn to much advantage. Lewis XIVth. learnt under him the art of war, and made several campaigns, only as a spectator, without executing or deciding any thing. Though Turenne had so much reason to be proud, he was exemplary modest ; he possessed in an eminent degree, that virtue so rare and yet so ornamental, and worthy of humanity, and disinterestedness ; he never knew whether he was possessed, or in want of money : and to complete his character, he cultivated friendship. The only weakness with which he could be reproached, (and all men must pay the tribute due to humanity,) was his vanity with respect to his family.

Turenne from his youth displayed the strongest passion for the military art, which was one day to confer on him so much glory; the delicacy of his constitution, seemed nevertheless, to oppose this pursuit, and his friends endeavored to dissuade him, for this reason, from engaging in a military life; but Turenne so far from listening to this advice, when he was only ten years old, took a singular resolution to silence these remonstrances. In a very cold night he left the castle and repaired to the ramparts of Sedan, where he proposed remaining till morning, as soon as his absence was observed, messengers were sent throughout the city in search of him, but they returned without gaining any tidings of the young gentleman; his governor who had also been in pursuit of him, had given up all hopes of finding his pupil, when accidentally passing by the batteries of the rampart, he discovered him fast asleep upon the carriage of a cannon, and it was with much difficulty he was persuaded to return home. From this time a silence took place with respect to the delicacy of his constitution, lest it should excite him to some imprudent measure.

The young viscount made his first campaigns under Prince Maurice of Nassau, his uncle; this Prince who was justly esteemed one of the first captains of his time, was willing that his nephew should enter upon his military vocation, as a common soldier, and carry a musket before he raised him to any rank. He was created field marshal when he was twenty-three years old, marshal of France at thirty-two, and marshal-general of the King's armies at forty-eight.

The generosity and disinterestedness of Turenne, were upon every occasion manifest. In the campaign of 1673, a general officer proposed to him the means of obtaining the sum of four hundred thousand livres, without the court ever being able to discover it; "I am much obliged to you, (replied Turenne) but as I have often had these opportunities without profiting by them, I do not believe at this time of life, I shall ever alter my conduct."

About the same time the magistrates of a city, offered him a hundred thousand crowns, not to march over their district, "As (said he) your city is not in the rout, which the army is to take, I cannot accept of your money."

The success with which the campaign of 1673 was crowned, procured the general the most gracious reception at Versailles,

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les. Lewis the XIV. failed not to bestow his commendations on Turenne, and that prince told him, that the marquis of St. Abry should serve no longer under him, as he had in his letters to the minister condemned some measures taken by Turenne. "Why did he not (said the general) communicate his opinion to me, I should have availed myself of his advice." He apologized for St. Abry, praised his conduct, and obtained promotion for him.

The hard service of the campaign of 1674, had occasioned many disorders in the French army, Turenne was seen on every side, talking to his soldiers like a father, with his purse constantly in his hand. When his money was exhausted, he borrowed of the first officer he met, telling him to receive the loan of his steward; but his cashier suspecting that sometimes a greater demand was made than was due, hinted, that it was proper to give draughts. "No! no, (said the general) pay all that is asked, it is impossible for an officer to ask a greater sum than he has lent, unless he is extremely necessitated, and in that case it is just to assist him."

An officer was quite in despair at having lost two horses in battle, and which his circumstances would not allow him to replace: Turenne gave him two of his own horses, and strongly recommended him not to reveal the secret; saying, "others will come and make a like request, and I cannot assist every one." Thus did he modestly conceal, under the appearance of œconomy, the merit of a generous action.

Another time Turenne perceived in his army, an officer of distinguished birth, but poor, who was very ill mounted; he invited him to dinner, and after the repast, took him on one side, and told him in a very friendly manner, "I have a favor to beg of you sir, you will perhaps think it a little bold, but I hope you will not refuse your general; I am old (continued he) and somewhat indisposed, swift horses fatigue me, and I have observed you have one that I think will suit me; if I thought it would not be a great sacrifice for you to make, I would request it of you:" the officer replied with a low bow, and immediately brought the horse himself, to the general's stables: Turenne the next day sent him one of the finest and best in the army.

The continence of Scipio Africanus has been greatly applauded; Turenne gave a similar example of virtue to his

army, but with that modesty which accompanied all his actions. After the taking of the fort of Soine, in Hainault in 1637, the soldiers who first entered the place, meeting with a very beautiful woman, conducted her to the general, as the most precious part of the booty ; Turenne feigned believing, that they only designed to protect her from the brutality of their companions, and highly praised their honorable behaviour ; then sending for her husband, he publicly said to him, " To the noble conduct of my soldiers, you are indebted for the preservation of your wife's honor."

The campaign of 1675, conferred the greatest honor upon Turenne ; and this skilful general, did not only know how to profit of his enemies faults, but even foresaw them. After the victory he gained over the Germans, commanded by the duke of Lorraine and Caprara, his officers came round him to congratulate him upon the occasion ; " Gentlemen, (said Turenne) with such soldiers as you, it is only necessary to attack boldly, as we *must* conquer."

His reputation was so completely established for rigid probity, that his word was considered as the surest guarantee even by foreign nations. A French army had approached the lake of Constance under pretence of levying contributions upon some territories of the house of Austria ; the Swiss who suspected the ambition of Lewis XIV, were apprehensive of a sudden invasion, they immediately sent deputies to Turenne, to inform him, that with other generals they should think they could not take too many precautions, but that with him his word would be sufficient, if he gave it that he would not attack them.

The circumstance from whence he derived the title of, FATHER OF THE SOLDIERS, must not be omitted. The French army was making a difficult retreat, during which Turenne was constantly in action, night and day, to cover his troops from the insults of the imperialists. In the course of this march, the viscount having turned about to observe that every thing was in proper order, perceived a soldier who had not strength enough to support himself, lying at the foot of a tree, to wait the end of his misery ; Turenne immediately dismounted, assisted the soldier to rise, placed him upon his own horse, and accompanied him on foot till he could reach the waggons in one of which he placed him.

This general one day observed several troopers who bowed their heads to avoid some shot that came from an eminence, and who immediately recovered themselves at Turenne's perceiving them, fearful of being reprimanded; "There is no harm (said he) in that, those balls are very deserving of a salute."

Turenne communicated one of his most signal victories in this laconic billet, "the enemies attacked us, we beat them, thank God, with some little difficulty; good night, I am going to rest." Turenne said that girls fancied, married men did nothing but caress their wives, and priests imagined that soldiers are always fighting, and yet they make ten campaigns without drawing their swords.

The great Condé asked him what plan should be followed in the war in Flanders; "Attempt but few sieges, (replied this illustrious general) and fight many battles; when you have made your army superior to that of the enemy by the number and goodness of your troops; when you are master of the field, villages will be as useful to you as strong places; but it is a point of honor to take a fortified city, sooner than conquer a whole province. If the King of Spain had expended in troops, what it has cost him in money and men, in carrying on sieges, and fortifying places, he would be the most powerful monarch on earth.

The treaty of the Pyrennees, in 1659, having terminated the long and bloody war between Spain and France, the two monarchs had a conference, in which they mutually presented to each other, the most eminent of their courtiers. As Turenne, whose modesty ever prevailed, did not appear, Philip asked to see him; when having viewed him with attention, he turned to Anne of Austria, his sister and said, "There is a man who has made me pass many disagreeable nights."

Roussseau gives the following anecdote of this general: Once in the dog-days, M. Turenne being very warm, had stripped himself, and was looking out of his anti-chamber, in a linen waistcoat and white night-cap; one of the servants coming in, and taking him for an under cook with whom he was very familiar, came softly up, and with pretty heavy hand, hit the general a very smart slap upon the breech. He immediately turned about, when the servant perceived his mistake, fell on his knees, saying, "My lord I thought it was George;" "Well, and if it had been George, (said Tu-

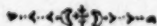
renne, rubbing the part aggrieved) you need not have hit him so cursed hard."

Marshal Turenne was so great a man, that he acknowledged his foibles, and blushed at them: Lewis XIV, who held him in much esteem, had entrusted him with the secret of a private negotiation with Charles II. of England; Turenne who was enamored with the marchioness of Coagnin, was so much her dupe, that she got the secret out of him, and it transpired, which made the king reprimand him. Sometime after, the Chevalier de Lorraine upon a visit to the marshal, happened to mention the affair, when Turenne interrupted him, saying, "Chevalier, if you propose entering upon that subject, let us put out the candles."

Turenne towards the close of his life, was desirous of retiring from the world, but Lewis XIV, who still wanted his services, opposed him in 1675, to the celebrated Montecuculi; these two great generals, were upon the point of coming to action, and of consigning their reputations to the arbitration of a battle, near the village of Saltzbach, when the French general was killed by a cannon ball. St. Hillaire, a lieutenant-general of Artillery was pointing out to him a battery, when the same ball carried away St. Hillaire's arm, and killed Turenne; St. Hillaire's son drowned in tears, was lamenting his father's misfortune, when St. Hillaire heroically said to him, "It is not me you should weep for, but the loss of that great man."

Montecuculi on his arrival, being informed of the event which promised him great advantage, could not however, refrain saying, "Then the world is deprived of a man who did honor to human nature."

This happened on the 27th of July, when he was in the 64th year of his age.



A N E C D O T E S.

GEN. Wolfe, it seems, had very fine hair. Observing one day several young officers, more attentive to the outsides of their heads, than he imagined they ought to be in the field, and wishing to give the strongest discouragement to their *effeminate manœuvres*, took a pair of scissors out of his pocket, and cut off those locks, which had been frequently

admired by both sexes. When he had performed his manly operation, he gave his scissors to the young gentleman who seemed to have the greatest affection for his hair; "I dare say, Sir, you will be polite enough to follow my example." He did so, and his well curled companions, immediately cropped themselves.

THE French lieutenant-general, de *Chevert*, was one of those extraordinary men, who though born in obscurity, and of poor parents, have pushed themselves on to the first places of the state, without the aid of ministers or mistresses. Of this man we will give our readers one or two characteristic interesting anecdotes.

It is well known, that in the war of the Austrian succession, Marshal *Bellisle* was obliged to quit Prague, with the greatest part of the French army, and make his retreat over Egger. *Chevert* remained at Prague with a garrison of 6000 men, 5200 of whom were sick. It is easy to see there could be no thought of defending a place blocked up by a strong army, and where the garrison was short of provisions; the only step they could take, was if possible to make an honorable retreat: *Chevert* effected this.

He had to do with restless inhabitants, who hated the French army to an extreme, and whose inclination for a revolt, was stimulated by the retreat of Marshal *Bellisle*, and the small number of the French garrison. These citizens were first to be awed, and the manner in which *Chevert* brought it about, merits the greatest praise. Those soldiers who could do duty, he caused to walk about. He next demanded quarters for new troops, who would in a few days reinforce the garrison. In the best parts of the town he stacked piles of wood and combustibles. He filled his own house with gun powder, then demanded some citizens of the first rank as hostages, whom he locked up in his own house. This done, he declared publicly, that he would set the town on fire in all quarters, and blow up his own house with the hostages, and bury himself among the ruins, in case the inhabitants shewed the least sign of a revolt or treason.

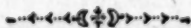
Chevert, who well knew his conduct would reach the enemy's camp, but that the enemy would give very little credit to such a tale from the fearful inhabitants, retained major-

general *Monty* in confinement, who was taken prisoner; in order to make use of him for his purpose, and gave him as a companion, an artful insinuating man, on whom he could rely; who persuaded the general to believe, that *Chevert* was determined to sacrifice the whole town and all its inhabitants, rather than surrender. *Monty* took the alarm, and dreading the consequence, desired to be exchanged. *Chevert* consented to this, convinced, that the story told by this general, would make a deep impression on the enemy. The Austrian general consented to every thing which *Chevert* proposed; the scheme took effect, and the French commander was suffered to march out of the town with all military honors, and two field-pieces, bearing the arms of *Charles VII.*

At the battle of *Hastenbeck*, *Chevert* received orders to drive the enemy from a hill covered with wood; the moment he entered the wood, he caught hold of the *marquis de Brehaut's* hand, and said with a firm voice, "Swear to me by the honor of a brave man, to sacrifice yourself and your regiment, rather than retreat one step from this place."

In the moment of attack, the officers of the *Picardi* regiment, begged him to put on his cuirass. "No, (said he, turning towards the advanced grenadiers, of whom many fell every moment by the enemy's fire) have these brave men cuirasses?"

In the midst of the combat, they informed him of the want of gun-powder. "What then? have we not bayonets?" returned this courageous man, who deserves our admiration, and who animates us to similar actions.

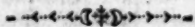


RANKING AND SIZING.

IT gives an extreme awkward appearance to a regiment on the parade, when the companies are not properly ranked and sized. The following method will be found useful to those that are not acquainted with the manner of doing it.

1. The men fall indiscriminately in one rank.
2. At the word of command, *To the right face*, they face to the right.

3. *Rank and file*: The tallest men go the right.
4. *To the front face*: Then the second man on the right, and from him every other man is cautioned with the word *right*.
5. *To the right double*: The men who have had the caution step obliquely to the right, backwards, in one step, covering their right hand man. Then divide the company into two platoons.
6. *Left platoon, forward march*: The platoon advances forward one bold step.
7. *To the right and left face*: The rear rank, face to the left, front rank to the right.
8. *March*: The right hand man of the front rank of the first platoon treads the time, the rest close up to the left in line; The front rank of the left platoon marches forward by single file, until it is covered by the rear rank, the rest closing up on the left in line.
9. *To the front face*: Then the company is properly formed.



THE SEVEN YEARS WAR IN GERMANY.

(Continued from page 15, Vol. II.)

176c. **T**HE plan of operation of the allied powers, was to compel the king, to abandon either Saxony or Silesia. The courts of Petersburg and Vienna, however, did not agree to this design, till many consultations had taken place; each party being attentive to their own interests. The French desired the Russians to besiege Stettin; Soltikow wanted to carry on the war in Pomerania, along the sea-coast, and insisted upon taking Danzig first, and the Austrians thought of the conquest of Silesia only. At last Soltikow received orders to enter that province, with the Russian army, and to besiege Breslaw.

At the beginning of this campaign, the Prussian army in Silesia was but small. The Prussian general Fouguet with 13000 men, occupied an entrenched camp, near Landshut, and had orders not to quit that post.

Gen. Laudon seized the favorable moment when Fouguet

had weakened his army by detachments, and attacked him with 50,000 men, at five different places. After having carried some redoubts, he summoned the Prussian commander, as at a siege, to surrender. But Fouguet answered with balls, retiring from height to height, under continual fighting, till at last he was obliged to yield to superior force. Fouguet dangerously wounded, fell to the ground. An Austrian dragoon was on the point of giving him the final blow, but he was saved by the fidelity of a common soldier, who threw himself on the body of his commander, receiving the wounds that were destined for him. He was afterwards cured, and liberally rewarded.

Fouguet, with 6000 men, almost all infantry, was taken prisoners. His cavalry cutting their way through, made good their retreat. The Prussians counted 2400 killed and wounded, and the Austrians 3000.

The most important consequence of this victory, was the conquest of Glatz. This fortress, after Magdeburg the greatest in the Prussian States, was garrisoned with 2400 men only, chiefly deserters and foreigners. A worthless commander rendered the evil still greater. His name was O, an Italian by birth, who made so trifling a resistance, that within four hours, this strong place was in the hands of the Austrians. The conquerors found in it enormous magazines, and gained by the possession of this fort, firm ground in Silesia.

During these operations in Silesia, Frederic had sent Prince Henry with an army to the Oder, on the frontiers of Poland, in order to observe the Russians; and he himself opened the campaign in Saxony, by besieging Dresden. Daun, deceived by the skilful movements and marches of the king, had left the vicinity of that metropolis. He judged from Frederic's march through Laufatia, that his intentions were directed upon Silesia; and this design he wished to frustrate. He had already out-marched the king; but the latter at once turned about, and after forced marches, encamped before Dresden. In a few hours the Austrians were driven from the suburbs, and in all probability, a vigorous assault in those critical moments, would in a short time have decided the fate of Dresden. But the enormities inseparable from a storm, especially in a metropolis, seemed to have determined the king not to undertake it. A formal siege took place, and the Prussians on the 14th of July, commenced to can-

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ronade the town on all sides. The fire spread in all directions : many of the principal streets were reduced to ashes. Magnificent palaces, which would have ornamented any town in Italy, became a prey to the flames. Every moment, houses of many stories high, seats of industry and ease, fell into heaps ; and the inhabitants were either buried in the ruins, or fled, leaving every thing behind.

The besieged were abundantly provided with artillery, but they could not silence the Prussian fire, the latter having erected their bomb-batteries behind the heaps of houses in the suburbs. On the 19th of July, in one day only, there were above fourteen hundred bombs thrown into the city. Every idea of extinguishing the fire was given up. The besieged made frequent sallies, and continually supported by fresh troops, several times drove the Prussians out of the trenches, spiked their guns, and made prisoners.

The Austrians being anxious to finish the siege, made in conjunction with the troops of the Empire, a trial to surprise Frederic's army, which covered the siege. The king's head quarters were in a village at some distance from the camp ; which circumstance favored the undertaking. The Austrians flattered themselves to take the king prisoner, and to renew the scenes of Hochkirch, at the break of day. The Austrian light troops advanced, the Prussian field guards retired, and the king had scarcely time to mount his horse to leave the village. This village however was the boundary of the advancing warriors ; for the Prussian army was under arms with surprising promptness. Within three minutes, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, all were in their tents in a sound sleep ; dead silence had overspread the whole line, and at once all were under arms and in line of battle. The morning sun had just appeared, and announced a beautiful summerday, when the mournful cry "To arms !" repeated by many thousand voices, sounded through the whole camp. The soldiers half dressed, came running from their tents into the ranks, and thus the whole army in a close line advanced towards the Austrians, who now retreated with precipitation.

This event caused an alteration in the position of the king's army ; and from that time the siege of Dresden was carried on with less vigour. The Austrians had the command of the river Elbe, and the Prussians were in want of

Vol. II.

provisions, having lost eight large vessels coming from Magdeburg. Frederic was on the point of raising the siege, when the news of the conquest of Glatz arrived. Laudon, after the taking of that place, had marched to Breslaw; and this circumstance disposed the king to accelerate his march to Silesia.

With this unsuccessful enterprise upon Dresden ended the chain of misfortunes, which twelve months since were heaped upon the king. The loss of the battle in July 1759, with the Russians near Zulichau, was, as it were, the password of his misfortunes. It was followed by the terrible defeat near Kunnersdorf, and the loss of Dresden. Soon after, Gen. Fink with his strong corps were taken prisoners near Maxen, and Gen. Dierke near Meissen; then followed the disastrous winter campaign, the unfortunate battle of Landshut, the loss of Glatz, and at last the unsuccessful siege of Dresden.

The king with his army marched now to the relief of Breslaw; where the king's body guard had, since the battle of Collin, in which the greatest part of them was destroyed, their quarters, and their commander, Gen. Tauenzien, had by this circumstance, become Commandant of the metropolis of Silesia. This General, educated in the Military College of Potsdam, united with the highest notions of honor, great courage, knowledge and military talents. All this was requisite in a situation, which perhaps never was equalled in the history of wars. Gen. Laudon was with 50,000 Austrians before the town, and within the walls were 19,000 Austrian prisoners of war on the point of revolting. To these enemies without and within, Tauenzien had but 3000 men to oppose, and out of that number, 2000 were deserters, forced soldiers or invalids. On the king's guard of about 1000 men only, he could rely, and even those consisted chiefly of men from other German provinces, who on account of the small pay, were unwilling to serve, and remained with their colours but from principles of honor and discipline. Events of this kind denote the military spirit of the Prussians, and of this century in general: events which remain a problem to the philosopher, and which the historian, on account of their improbability, scarcely dares relate. This wonder, to keep with a small, and mostly discontented and useless number of soldiers, an army within

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the walls in awe, and to resist another without, and all that in a large place, not very strongly fortified, such a wonder could only be procured by the power of the Prussian discipline; and if in succeeding ages, military virtues are praised by historians, and song by poets, Hochkirch and Breslaw will, on account of the triumph of discipline, remain with them forever an object of admiration.

Laudon summoned the commandant to surrender; alledging, "that, Breslaw not being a regular fort, it would be against the usages of war to defend it;" but Tauenzien answered that "he would expect the enemy on the ramparts, though the houses be reduced to ashes." The bombardment then commenced—the commandant, however, took such measures as to baffle every attempt of the enemy from within and without; and Laudon's head quarter's being so situated, as to be within the reach of long well charged pieces, he disquieted that General by balls falling into his apartment, which compelled him to remove to a greater distance. Tauenzien, however, was uncertain of relief, and convinced of the weak state of his garrison, he assembled the officers of the royal body guards, representing to them his situation, and the possibility of the place being taken by assault before the arrival of the king; in which case he proposed to defend himself upon the rampart to the last man; to prevent, as he said, the world from seeing the whole Prussian body guard taken prisoners. The officers animated by this warlike ambition and love for their country, coinciding with this proposition, determined to die fighting. Happily this scene did not take place; for Prince Henry by forced marches approached, and Laudon raised the siege.

The timely arrival of Prince Henry not only saved Breslaw, but also all Silesia; for the Russian main army was already in the heart of that country, and only a few miles from the capital, where the Russian commanders intended to form a junction with the Austrians. But Prince Henry took such measures as to frustrate this design for the present. Soltikow, the Russian commander, did not venture to pass the Oder. Frederic, anxious for the fate of Breslaw, by forced marches, also approached that place. He left Gen. Hulsen with a strong corps in Saxony, and, before the face of the Austrians, passed the rivers Elbe, Spree, Queire and

Bober. He passed through two strong corps of the Austrians, and had their main army in his rear ; and though incumbered with two thousand waggons of provisions, he marched upwards of one hundred miles in five days, and reached the frontiers of Silesia without any loss. Daun followed him continually, avoiding however every opportunity to a battle, and made a junction with Laudon's army, in order, if possible, to keep Frederic's army and that of his brother Henry separate. Silesia never had before witnessed such armies within her limits ; above 100,000 Austrians, 75,000 Russians, and 80,000 Prussians. Frederic and Daun marched parallel with each other ; both armies being divided by a small rivulet only.

The Russians, still on the other side of the Oder, not far from Breslaw, were not at all contented with the cautious movements of Daun. They thought, the king not having been prevented from passing the Elbe, Spree and Bober, he would not meet with any difficulties in passing the Oder, to unite himself with prince Henry, and then to fall with his whole force upon them. " It will, said Soltikow, cost the king only one of his usual forced marches "and stratagems, to effect that." He declared at the same time, that as soon as the king would be suffered to pass the Oder, he would retreat with his army to Poland.

This menace obliged Daun to risque a battle. He intended to attack the Prussian camp near Liegnitz, at four different points at once, at daybreak, on the 15th of August ; of which, the king received information but on the preceding evening. He immediately formed his plan. At the beginning of night, he with the army left his camp, ordering that a party of peasants should keep the guard-fires all night burning ; and marched to the heights of Liegnitz, where he ranged his army, in the utmost silence, in order of battle. The morning was just beginning to dawn, when the Austrian General, Laudon, approached with a corps of 30,000 men, with which he was to attack the left wing of the Prussian camp. But to his surprise, he soon perceived the whole of the king's army in front ; whose left wing immediately fell upon him. Laudon, relying on the support of his commander in chief, did not avoid the battle, made head against the Prussians, leaving the result to the valour of his troops. His cavalry commenced the attack,

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but were soon repulsed. The Prussian infantry then advanced, and completed the route of the Austrian cavalry. Daun endeavoured in vain to advance. The Prussian right wing received him with effect; and Laudon, who had done every thing, and exposed himself to the greatest danger, was obliged to retreat, leaving 82 cannon and 6000 prisoners; 2500 Austrians were dead or wounded. The Prussians, counted 1200 dead and wounded.

This battle, which was finished by five o'clock in the morning, prevented the junction of the Austrian and Russian armies, and frustrated all their designs upon the Silesian forts. The king, who now could unite himself with Prince Henry, marched that very day above 10 miles with his army. The Russians retired over the Oder, and thus the way to Breslaw became open to the Prussians. The fortune of war, which for some time back, had persecuted him, seemed again to smile at him. He had gained, as it were, a battle on the march, on the same field, where in 1241 a bloody action was fought between the Christian nations and the Tartars.

The duke of Wirtemberg, during this time, had arrived with 12,000 men of his own troops in Saxony, where he joined the army of the Empire. General Hulsen, who stood with his corps near Meissen, left his post at the approach of so powerful an army, and entrenched himself near Strehlen. Here he was attacked on all sides on the 18th of August; but the Prussians maintained their position, repulsed the enemy, and made 1300 prisoners. After this action, Hulsen, in order to cover his magazines, marched to Torgau, where he again intrenched his camp, and maintained it for six weeks.

Thus in Saxony, as well as in Silesia, the Prussian arms were victorious; but these advantages were not decisive enough to prevent Frederic's numerous enemies from prosecuting the war. Daun, by the king's skilful movements, was compelled to draw his army into the mountains, to avoid being cut off from Bohemia. Soltikow had given up the idea of forming a junction with the Austrians; and was observed by Gen. Goltz, with a Prussian corps near Glogau; but the Russians in Pomerania were active. A Russian fleet had arrived on the coast of that province, and Colberg was besieged by 27 Russian and Swedish ships of war by water, and 15,000 men by land. But this attempt was not

more successful than the first. Heyden again defended himself bravely till Gen. Werner arrived from Silesia to his relief. His corps consisted but of 6000 men; with whom he marched 200 miles within 12 days, and arriving at Colberg on the 18th of September, he fell upon the Russians sword in hand. The latter, on account of the great distance of the Prussian army, thought themselves secure, wherefore the small corps of Werneck spread such terror among them, that they not only immediately raised the siege, but fled with precipitation, leaving every thing behind them. Some took shelter on board of the fleet, others fled by land, and a few days after, the fleet disappeared also.

Werner, who had freed himself from the Russians, directed now his attention towards the Swedes. He surprised them at the suburbs of Pasewalk, and took 600 prisoners and 7 cannon.

The summer was now at an end; the unfriendly season approached, and the Austrians as well as the Russians began to think of winter quarters. But the idea of not having effected any thing by their numerous armies during the whole campaign, was humiliating to Frederic's enemies. They, therefore, formed the plan of attacking Berlin. A Russian corps of 20,000, and an Austrian of 14,000 men, marched towards Brandenburg, which at a distance, were covered by the Russian main army. The van was commanded by the Russian General, Count Tottleben, a German by birth, who on the 3d of October, with 3000 men arrived before the gates of Berlin.

This large capital, without ramparts or walls, was occupied by 1200 men only, and therefore incapable of defence. The Russian main army had already arrived at Frankfort on the Oder, when Berlin capitulated, and surrendered to Tottleben. This officer, having formerly lived some years at Berlin, remembering the many happy days he had passed in that metropolis, treated it with a lenity that greatly contrasted with the usual cruelty of the Russians. It depended on him to do immense damage to the king of Prussia. Berlin, the modern Palmyra, where beautiful and long extended streets were lined by a great number of magnificent works of architecture, was the greatest manufacturing city in Germany, and the grand Emporium of all the Prussian necessities of war. According to the capitulation, the small

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garrison became prisoners of war, and the city paid a contribution of 1,500,000 dollars, and 200,000 dollars as a present for the Austrian and Russian soldiers. It was agreed that none of the enemy's soldiers should be quartered within the city; but the Austrian commander Lascy, against the capitulation, took with some regiments by force, quarter in Berlin, where they conducted themselves in a shameless manner, destroying and plundering every thing they could reach.

The Austrians, as well as the Russians, began to prepare for their winter quarters in Brandenburg, considering the war as finished. They had large armies in the very heart of the Frederic's dominions: The Swedes were advancing; the troops of the Empire in Saxony, and in possession of the river Elbe; Laudon in Silesia, and Daun with a superior force continually observing Frederic.

But this fancied triumph lasted a few days only. Frederic, like a torrent, rushed forwards from Silesia, and now the scene changed. The word, "Frederic comes!" was like an electrical shock, which penetrated all his enemies, and set them in motion. The Austrians and Russians left Berlin. The latter repassed the Oder, and the former hastened to Saxony. But this retreat was marked with unheard of devastation. The king's country seats and palaces were plundered or destroyed; and, from the gates of Berlin to the frontiers of Poland, Silesia and Saxony, the country was laid waste. The king with his army had just reached the frontiers of Saxony, when he was informed of the cruelties committed by his enemies. Upon this occasion, the feelings of an irritated man overcame that of a philosopher. During the whole war, the Prussians did not touch any of the royal palaces in Saxony. But now the king ordered to plunder the palace of Hubertsburg, which in a few hours was executed with such effect, that nothing but the empty walls were remaining.

It was Daun's intention, at all hazard, to maintain Saxony. Dresden, the largest and strongest city of the country, as well as the greatest part of the electorate was in his hands, and almost all the Austrian forces were assembled in that province. The winter had already commenced, and the campaign seemed to be at an end. But the king of Prussia was as determined not to lose Saxony. A great battle was

unavoidable to decide that great question. But Daun would risk nothing, notwithstanding his great superiority. He thought to gain his end by defensive measures, and marched into the strong camp of Torgau, where Prince Henry stood the preceding campaign, and where Daun did not venture to attack him. The king, having lost all hope of compelling Daun to a battle in the field, resolved, in spite of all obstacles, to storm his camp.

This event took place on the 3d of September : a day memorable in the annals of war, on which human blood flowed like water ; when the total destruction of both armies was almost certain, and on which, in the darkness of night, victory at last was obtained by the Prussians.

The king marched in three columns through the forest of Torgau. His plan, was not only to conquer Daun, but to annihilate his army. Cut off from the Elbe, the vanquished were to have no other alternative but to fall by the sword, to throw themselves into the river, or to ground their arms. Both wings of the Austrians he intended to attack at once, and to throw them upon their centre ; to which end, Gen. Zieten with one half of the Prussian army, was detached to take possession of the heights of Torgau. But to beat the enemy with the other half, the king had great obstacles to surmount : Daun was advantageously posted, with the flower of the Austrian army ; his left wing reaching to the Elbe, the right being covered by heights strongly fortified, and the front secured by morasses and forests. Frederic marched through the forest, and then round the enemy's right wing ; and though his columns had not come up yet, he immediately attacked the Austrian camp with his van guard, consisting of ten battalions of grenadiers. A cannonade, which was heard at a distance, disposed the king to believe that Zieten had already attacked the enemy, which justified this rash undertaking. It was two o'clock in the afternoon ; a few hours day-light only remaining, and those hours were to decide Frederic's fate, and perhaps that of the whole Prussian monarchy.

Daun received the Prussians with so tremendous a cannon fire, as never had been witnessed since the invention of gun-powder. Two hundred cannon were here mounted, directed upon one point, spreading death and destruction. The oldest warriors in both armies had never seen such a

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Vol.

MILITARY REPOSITORY.

79

scene of fire; even the king repeated several times to his adjutants, "What a terrible cannonade! have you ever heard its equal?" In less than half an hour, the Prussian grenadiers of 5500 men, who made the attack, were either dead or wounded, stretched upon the field of battle. On the succeeding day, only 600 of them were fit for service. Meanwhile the main column of the Prussians advanced from the forest. But before they could view their enemy, the tops of trees, torn to pieces by cannon-balls, fell upon their heads. The roaring of the cannon resounded terribly thro' the forest. They were the trumpets of death; and the Prussians after leaving the woods, and winding themselves through the clouds of smok, perceived scenes, not promising of victory, but a field of battle covered with dead bodies. The grenadiers, by whose assistance they hoped to conquer, were no more; Zieten's army was at a distance, its fate uncertain, and the enemy sheltered behind their numerous batteries. The Prussian artillery attempted to bring their guns forward; but the horses, and their drivers were killed, and the wheels and other wood-work of the guns torn to pieces. A new attack, however, was made by the infantry, and the Austrians who had advanced, were driven back; but the Austrian grape-shot made terrible ravages among the Prussians. Whole ranks were stretched on the ground; yet they continually closed, filling up the empty spaces. They gained heights and stormed several batteries.

But Daun brought fresh troops to the field of battle. His heavy horse made great havoc among the Prussian infantry, who were obliged to retreat. A new attack of the Prussian cavalry was successful; they put the Austrian infantry in confusion, and made several thousand prisoners. The whole line of the Austrians was in danger. But the Austrian cavalry now rushing forwards from all sides, the Prussians were obliged to yield to their great superiority. Night approached, the troops were exhausted, the king wounded, and the battle seemed to be lost. Daun dispatched couriers from the field of battle, who announced at Vienna, a complete victory.

In the book of destiny, however, was written, not *Theresa's*, but *Frederic's* triumph. Zieten had not remained inactive.

Vol. II.

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tive with his army. He surmounted every obstacle to come to the king's assistance; and approached the village of Siptitz, which was in flames. General Mollendorf, a man renowned for military talents, advised here a manœuvre which had the most salutary effect, and which determined the fate of the day. Some battalions marched thro' the village, attacked the adjoining heights and a battery, which they soon carried. Other troops, who drew their cannon with their hands, covered by the cavalry, followed this road to victory. A heavy, and unexpected cannonade now commenced from those heights, which, in the darkness of night, augmented the confusion among the Austrians. Meanwhile the troops of the Prussian left wing, who had formed as well as they could, approached. Lascy attempted to retake these heights, but was repulsed. The Prussians maintained this conquered post, which decided the battle; and the Austrians retreated, by means of three bridges, over the river Elbe.

The king passed the night in the church of a neighbouring village, where he had his wound dressed. Unacquainted with the retreat of the Austrians, he resolved to renew the action at daybreak; to which end he gave the necessary orders; but when daylight appeared, he perceived that no more Austrians were to be combated here; victory was decided, and Saxony maintained. The Austrians marched along the river Elbe to Dresden, and the Prussians went into their winter-quarters. The former counted 9000 dead and wounded, and 8000 were taken prisoners. The loss of the Prussians in dead and wounded, equalled that of the Austrians.

The consequences of this victory were very important. All Saxony, Dresden excepted, was now again in the hands of the Prussians, and their winter-quarters secured. Frederic was able to send troops to Silesia and Pomerania, and to drive the enemy from those provinces. He even sent a corps of 8000 men to Duke Ferdinand. Laudon raised the siege of Cosel and retired to Glatz; the Swedes were driven as far as Stralsund by Gen. Werner, and the Russians took their winter-quarters in Poland.

The French had opened this campaign (1760) with 130,000 men: of whom, 100,000 were to act in Westphalia, and 30,000 on the Rhine. Broglie hoped, by this disposition,

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to separate the allied army. But before he commenced his operations, Duke Ferdinand received reinforcements from England, so that the British army under his command alone, amounted now to 20,000 men. Ferdinand wished to attack the French, in order to prevent their invading Hanover. The then Hereditary Prince of Brunswic led the van, and met the enemy near Corbach. Thinking them to be a detached corps only, he immediately attacked them; but this corps being connected with the French main army, was continually supported by fresh troops. The prince, therefore, was obliged to retreat, which the French cavalry endeavored in vain to prevent; for, the Prince putting himself at the head of his cavalry, repulsed those of the French, and effected his retreat in good order. The allies lost 800 men, dead and wounded, and 15 cannon. The Prince was wounded, and notwithstanding his loss, was, on account of his courage and skilful disposition, praised both by friends and enemies. On the 16th of July, only seven days after the action of Corbach, he attacked another French corps near Emsdorf, which he totally routed, taking 2000 prisoners, 6 cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition and provisions. Ferdinand attacked another French corps of 35,000 men near Warburg, commanded by Chevalier May, on both their flanks, and in front, and rear at once. The action was of short duration; the French fled, leaving 1500 dead and 1600 prisoners.

Broglie had a great superiority of troops; but on account of the discontent that reigned in his army, he would not risk a general engagement, and entrenched himself near Cassel; leaving Ferdinand to destroy his magazines and intercept his provisions.

At this time, Great Britain was mistress of the sea, and continued to make conquests in both the Indias. The French were totally defeated near Quebec, and all Canada became a prey to the conquerors. Great Britain resolved, if possible, to carry the war into the heart of France, and in consequence of this resolution, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswic, was detached with a corps to Cleve to drive the French from thence. He passed the Rhine, made a number of prisoners, and blockaded Wesel. But from a continual rain, the roads became impassable, and the rivers overflowed, which inter-

rupted his operations. However, on the 10th of October the trenches were opened. The importance of the place disposed Broglie to take the most effectual measures for its relief. He detached General Castries with a strong corps, who after forced marches, arrived at Rhineberg. A battle now became unavoidable. The Prince attacked the French, who were advantageously posted near a forest. The combat lasted from morning till night. But it was impossible for the allies to drive the enemy out of the forest. The Prince was again wounded, but retreated with his army in the greatest order, without being followed by the enemy. The siege of Wesel was now raised, and the allies encamped near Bruy-nen, where they soon after attacked a French corps, which they routed, and took 1200 prisoners.

The French main army had remained near Cassel, and taken Gottingen, which they strongly garrisoned. Ferdinand blockaded the town twenty days, but the garrison defended it bravely, and made, on the 12th of October, a desperate sortie; after which, the blockade was raised.

The campaign was thought to be at an end; but Ferdinand had formed some bold plans, which he intended to execute in the depth of winter. The French were in possession of Hesse, where they had enormous magazines, and their armies were so posted, that they formed a half moon from Gottingen to Wesel.

(1761.) It was on the 11th of February that Ferdinand marched in four columns from his cantonments, and attacked the French quarters from all sides. The French fled, leaving only 10,000 men in Cassel, and 7500 in Gottingen. Five great magazines fell into the hands of the allies. In order to extend these advantages, a Hanoverian corps under the command of General Sporten, approached the frontiers of Saxony, where they intended to form a junction with a Prussian corps. The Saxon troops, in conjunction with the troops of the Empire, made every effort to prevent it. On the 6th of February a bloody engagement took place near Langensaltz; in which the Saxons, who were beaten, lost 5000 men. After this victory, the French evacuated all the strong posts, of which they still had possession. Cassel only remained in their hands; to besiege which, many difficulties were to be encountered. The town was abundantly provided with every thing, strongly garrisoned, and commanded by

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Count Broglie, brother to the French commander in chief, a courageous and ambitious officer.

Ferdinand posted his army in such a manner, that he could blockade Marburg and Ziegenhain, and at the same time cover the besieging army before Cassel. On the first of March, in the midst of winter, the trenches were opened. But the French commander, considering the preservation of that place of too great importance, assembled all his troops on the Lower Rhine, advanced, and near Stangerode attacked the hereditary prince of Brunswick. The ground was extremely advantageous to the French, and their great superiority completed the victory. The allies lost 2000 men which were taken prisoners; this misfortune was followed by many others; the blockades of Ziegenhain and Marburg, and at last the siege of Cassel were raised. Ferdinand marched his army to Paderborn, and the French were now again masters of Hesse, from whence they could invade Hannover. But their farther operations were interrupted by the want of magazines, and both parties now contented themselves to remain quiet in their winter quarters.

All the belligerent powers shewed an inclination for peace, but their respective demands were so great, that nothing could be done. Frederic, however, had suffered a loss, which out-balanced a whole province. George II. king of England, died in the month of October 1760, and with his life subsided the royal zeal to continue the war in Germany with effect; or, according to the expression of Pitt, to conquer America in Germany. Pitt's influence in the British cabinet was no more the same. He was obliged to yield it to lord Bute, the favorite of the new king, a minister, who incapable of governing, had no other talent than that of ingratiating himself with his king, and throwing a great and flourishing empire from its height. Bute, who notwithstanding his inability of steering the helm of government, wanted to reign, thought of finding less difficulty in peace than in war. He had besides an extension of the royal power in view, which in time of war was not practicable. His wish, therefore was peace. But the Parliament and the whole nation being of an opposite opinion, he worked secretly to obtain his end, the effect of which soon appeared. The treaty with Prussia was not renewed, and Frederic received no more

MILITARY REPOSITORY.

subsidies, though George III. in his first speech to Parliament, had solemnly promised to fulfil the engagements entered into with the allies.

Frederic, deprived of his subsidies, resolved in the next campaign to act defensively. The Austrians, unaccustomed to see defensive measures on the side of the king, considered his caution as a stratagem to execute some great design, and would also not act offensively. They contented themselves with observing his motions. The intentions of the Austrians and Russians still were directed upon Silesia; the king therefore, in the spring of this year, marched thither, leaving Prince Henry with an army in Saxony, where Daun had remained with his main army, and left it to General Laudon to cope with the king in Silesia. This General now, for the first time, commanded a large army, with which he entered Silesia; where, as in the preceding campaign, he intended to form a junction with the Russians. But the king by forced marches, gained the advantage of preventing the Russians, for a long time, from passing the Oder. This passage was not effected till the beginning of August; when the junction took place, which during the three preceding campaigns, they had endeavored in vain to effect. The Russian main army, 70,000 strong, was now under the command of field marshal Butterlin, and the Austrian army under Gen. Laudon, consisted of 60,000 men. Frederic had but 50,000 men to oppose them, whom he encamped near Schweidnitz. The Austrians and Russians almost surrounded his camp, so that he had only his rear at liberty. Frederic's political and military situation, which, during this war, was often in a very critical state, was now more precarious than ever. To give battle, at other times his only refuge, would, against armies so numerous, have been audacity. Even a victory, could, on account of the great superiority of his surrounding enemies, render no great advantage; where, on the contrary, a defeat would have been attended with the most fatal consequences. The king, for the first time in his life, resolved to avoid a battle. In his main army, and himself at their head, there never was a thought of intrenching themselves. In his camps they knew of nothing but, according to the usage of wars, to throw up heaps of earth for the field guards of the infantry, and to erect batteries for the heavy guns; but

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now the whole camp was to be entrenched. And this was executed in such a manner, and with a promptness, of which we cannot find an example in the modern history of wars.

The centre of the camp was about four miles from Sweidnitz, and the whole ground upon which the infantry was encamped had become a chain of lines; redoubts with deep ditches, connected with twenty-four large batteries; before the lines, *chevaux de frize*, and before them, three rows of Wolf's ditches, six feet deep. Each battery had two mines, at a little distance before it, filled with powder and balls. The king had besides taken 150 cannon from Sweidnitz, in order to strengthen the batteries. This manner of fortifying a camp was not less remarkable than the dispatch with which it was executed: It was the work of three days only. One half of the army was constantly at work, whilst the other rested; and thus they continued day and night till all was completed. On a large plain to the left, where the entrenchments terminated, stood ninety squadrons of Prussian cavalry, anxious to display on that ground, those skilful horse manoeuvres which they had learned of General Seidlitz.

It was the intention of the Austrian and Russian commanders directly after their junction to attack the king. But the necessary plan, on account of some difference in the opinion and military principles of the generals, could not be concluded upon in one day. Frederic made use of that precious time; and when the doubts of the different commanders were removed, and every thing ready for the attack, they no more saw before them a Prussian camp, but a chain of redoubts and batteries, which had, as it were, risen by conjuration from the ground. To attack, or rather to storm them, required new plans. Streams of blood were to be expected, before they could enter and attack the Prussians in the interior of their camp.

Frederic was, however, every moment ready for the battle. During day-time, when all the movements in the enemy's camp could be perceived, his soldiers rested; but as soon as the evening approached, the tents were struck, the baggage sent under the cannons of Sweidnitz, and all the regiments put under arms behind their entrenchments. Thus stood infantry, cavalry and artillery every night in order of battle. The king always was near one of the main batteries,

where a small tent was pitched for him. His baggage also was every evening conveyed to Sweidnitz, and in the morning brought back again. After sun-rise the troops laid down their arms, and again pitched their tents. The heat of the weather was intense, and the army, bread excepted, in great want of provision. This circumstance, and the want of sleep, augmented the number of the sick. But the king expected every thing from the time and the wants of the enemy. His great magazines at Sweidnitz, furnished him with bread and forage at least. But the want of these two precious articles could not fail soon to take place among his enemies, who were confined in a small circle between mountains. The Russians were the first that felt the want of those necessaries. The king had detached General Platen with 7000 men into the rear of the Russians, who took a Russian transport of 5000 waggons, beat the covering army took 1900 prisoners, and besides destroyed three of their magazines. They now thought of retreating. After having, during twenty days, made and rejected many plans; after the united armies had twice marched out to a general attack, and returned without undertaking any thing, they gave up all their plans, and the Russian commander, on the 13th of September, repassed the Oder, leaving 20,000 men only with the Austrian army under the command of Gen. Ezernichet.

The intelligence of the departure of the Russian army, diffused universal joy throughout the Prussian camp. Though the Austrian army was still far superior in numbers, yet all defensive measures in the Prussian army ceased at once. Their camp was no more struck; the baggage no more removed; the troops no more put under arms during night; the cannons that were taken from Sweidnitz, were carried back to the fort; the mines were emptied; the Wolfs ditches filled up; the *chevaux de frise* burnt, and a great part of the entrenchments demolished. The communication with the country became open, and the Prussian camp provided with every thing.

(To be continued.)

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Vol.

THE AMERICAN WAR.

(Continued from Page 56, Vol. II.)

THE extensive submission of the militia of South-Carolina, in the year 1780, had ultimately operated against the royal interest. The British army, by filling the country with rapine, violence and murder, added new vigor to the opposite party. The people, not finding any security for their lives, liberties or property, under the military government of British officers, ardently wished for an American force. Under these favourable circumstances, General Greene began his operations; and Gen. Morgan, in his March towards Ninety Six, collected between four and five hundred militia.

Thus the two detachments were nearly equal in infantry, but in cavalry, and the general quality of the troops, Tarleton was greatly superior.

Lord Cornwallis, with his army, had proceeded to the north-west, between broad river and the Catawba, in order the more easily to be enabled to pass the great rivers in their way at the fords near their source. By following this course, the British General hoped, either to cut off Morgan's retreat, if he should elude Tarleton, or to get between Greene's army and Virginia, and force him to an action before he was joined by his expected reinforcements. The detachment under General Leslie, which had been halted at Camden, until Lord Cornwallis should be ready to march from Wynneshorough, the longer to conceal from the American General the road which the British army meant to take, received orders to move up the banks of the Catawba, and join Cornwallis on his march. The march, both of Lord Cornwallis and General Leslie, being much encumbered with baggage and artillery, was greatly retarded by the swelling of creeks and water courses. Tarleton, having the command of light troops, more easily surmounted these obstacles, and overtook Morgan near the Parolet. The latter, after retreating over that river, made a shew of disputing Tarleton's passage, by guarding the fords. Tarleton, however, on the sixth of January, found means to pass over his detachment within six miles of the American encampment. Morgan was forced

MILITARY REPOSITORY.

to make a precipitate retreat, and Tarleton took possession of the ground that had been left by the Americans.

Col. Tarleton, leaving his baggage under a guard, with orders not to move till day-light appeared, resumed the march of the British light troops at three in the morning, in pursuit of Morgan's detachment. After a fatiguing march, thro' swamps and broken ground, he came in sight of the Americans, about eight in the morning, at the Cowpens. General Morgan, finding himself hard pressed by the British troops, resolved to hazard an action. He drew up his forces in two lines, the militia, under Col. Pickens, forming the first line, and the continentals, under Col. Howard, with the Virginia riflemen, the second. Lieut. Col. Washington, with his cavalry, and about 45 militia men, mounted and equipped with swords, were drawn up at some distance in the rear, as a corps of reserve. The ground which Morgan occupied does not appear to have been well chosen. It was an open wood, and consequently liable to be penetrated by the enemy's cavalry. Both his flanks were exposed, and the river, at no great distance, ran parallel to his rear.

Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, having advanced within two hundred and fifty yards of the first line of the Americans, made a hasty disposition of his force. The seventh regiment and light infantry, were formed in line, with a captain and fifty dragoons at each of their flanks; and the first battalion, the seventy-first regiment, and the rest of the British cavalry, were directed to form as a reserve, and wait for orders. Tarleton, relying on the valour of his troops, impatient of delay, and too confident of success, led on in person the first line to the attack, even before it was fully formed; and whilst the commander of the seventh regiment was posting his officers: Neither had the reserve yet reached the ground which it was to occupy. The first line of the Americans being composed of militia, did not long withstand the charge of the British regulars: It gave way in all quarters, and was pursued to the continentals. The latter, undismayed by the retreat of the militia, maintained their ground with great bravery; and the conflict between them and the British troops was obstinate and bloody. The left flank of the Americans was charged by a troop of dragoons, commanded by Capt. Ogilvie. They cut their way through the American line, but being exposed to a heavy fire, and at the same

time, charged by the whole of Washington's cavalry, were compelled to retreat in confusion. The British reserve now moved forward, which set their whole line again in motion. The continentals were forced to give way: but the American commander, finding that the British cavalry did not pursue, gave orders to Colonel Washington to cover the rear of the broken provincials, whilst he exerted himself to rally them. His endeavours succeeded. The continentals were rallied and formed, and now in their turn charged the assailants. Such of the British infantry as were farthest advanced, receiving this unexpected charge, fell back in confusion, and communicated a panic to others, which soon became general. Washington charged with his cavalry; and a total rout ensued. The militia who had fled, seeing the fortune of the day changed, returned and joined in the pursuit. The British infantry were soon overtaken, and almost the whole were either killed or taken prisoners. It was in vain that Tarleton endeavoured to bring his legion cavalry to charge and check the progress of the Americans. They fled in a body through the woods, leaving their commander with a small party behind. Tarleton, seeing nothing farther to be done, retreated with his small band of adherents to Hamilton's Ford, upon Broad River, in his way to the British main army under Lord Cornwallis, then at Turkey-Creek, about twenty miles from the field of action. The only body of Tarleton's infantry that escaped, was the guard left with the baggage, which had not reached the Cowpens at the time of the action: Early intelligence of the defeat being conveyed to the officer who commanded it, he immediately destroyed whatever part of the baggage could not be carried off, and retreated to their main army unmolested.

During this action, upwards of three hundred of the British were killed or wounded, and above five hundred taken prisoners; eight hundred muskets, two field pieces; thirty-five baggage waggons, and one hundred dragoon horses fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Americans had only twelve men killed and sixty wounded.

Colonel Tarleton, daring in skirmishes, betrayed want of military knowledge in this action. His force was superior in numbers. Morgan had only five hundred and forty continentals, the rest militia, and the advantage of ground was

on the side of the British. This defeat formed a principal link in a chain of causes, which finally drew down ruin, both in North and South-Carolina, on the royal interest, and led to the Independence of America. Colonel Tarleton, it seems, had acquired power without any extraordinary degree of merit, and upon most occasions exercised it without discretion.

The year 1781 had commenced with the fairest prospects to the friends of British government. The arrival of Gen. Leslie in Charleston with the troops lately commanded in Virginia, gave Lord Cornwallis a decided superiority, and enabled him to attempt the reduction of North-Carolina, with a force sufficient to bare down all probable opposition. Arnold was before him in Virginia, while South-Carolina in his rear, was considered as completely subdued. Whilst Cornwallis was indulging the pleasing prospects, by the approaching campaign to immortalize his name as the conqueror, at least of the Southern States, he received the mortifying intelligence, that Tarleton, instead of driving Morgan out of the country, was completely defeated by him. The loss of the light troops, at all times necessary to an army, but on a march through a woody and thinly settled country, almost indispensable, was, to the British commander, an irreparable misfortune. But greatly as Lord Cornwallis saw his difficulties increased, he nevertheless resolved to prosecute the original plan of the expedition in North-Carolina, as the only means of maintaining the British interest in the Southern States. On the eighteenth of January he formed a junction with the reinforcement under Gen. Leslie; and the day following the British army resumed its march. Morgan, encumbered as he was with prisoners, they hoped, might still be overtaken between Broad River and the Catawba. But that able officer, sensible of his danger, quitted the Cowpens immediately after the action, and proceeding to the upper fords on Broad River, passed it with his detachment and the prisoners. He then directed his course to the Catawba, and moved with so much selerity that he reached it before the British army.

The Americans underwent in this retreat great hardships. Many of them were without shoes, marching over frozen ground. They were sometimes without meat, often without flour, and always without spirituous liquors. Their march

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led them through a barren country which scarcely afforded necessities for a few straggling inhabitants. They were daily reduced to the necessity of fording deep creeks, and in this severe season, of remaining wet without any change of cloaths, till the heat of their bodies and occasional fires in the woods dried their tattered rags. To all these difficulties they submitted without the loss of a single sentinel by desertion.

Lord Cornwallis, previously to the arrival of the British troops on the banks of the Catawba, resolved to destroy all their superfluous baggage. By first reducing the size and quantity of his own, he set an example which was followed by all the officers under his command. No waggons were reserved except those loaded with hospital stores, salt and ammunition, and four empty ones for the accommodation of the sick and wounded. The remainder of their waggons, baggage, and all the store of flour and rum, were destroyed at Ramsaur's Mill. The royal army, encouraged by the example of their commander, submitted with cheerfulness to this arrangement, which deprived them of all future prospect of spiritous liquors, and even hazarded a regular supply of provisions.

General Morgan had been so closely pursued, that the advance of the British troops arrived at the banks of the Catawba in the evening of the twenty-ninth of January, only two hours after the last of Morgan's corps had crossed. Before the next morning a heavy fall of rain made that river impassable; and as it continued so for two days, Morgan had time to disincumber himself of the prisoners, by sending them off under an escort of militia by a different route from that which he proposed to take.

General Greene, upon receiving information of Lord Cornwallis' march, left his army upon the Pedee, under the command of General Huger and Colonel Williams, with orders to proceed with the main army to Guildford Court-House, in order to form a junction with the detachment under Gen. Morgan, whilst he, with an escort of dragoons, proceeded immediately to that corps to regulate its movements for facilitating the proposed junction. After travelling with great expedition one hundred and fifty miles through the country, he arrived at Morgan's camp, on the last day of January. The fresh having subsided so far as to leave the river fordable, Lord Cornwallis deter-

mined to attempt a passage on the first of February. He detached Col. Webster, with one division of his army, to a public ford called Beattie's, with orders to cannonade, and make a feint, as if they intended to force a passage: whilst he, with the other division, marched to a private ford near M'Cowan's, where the passage was in reality to be attempted. This division marched from its encampment at one in the morning, and reached the ford about dawn. This ford, although a private one, had not escaped the vigilance of the Americans. It was guarded by three hundred militia, under the command of General Davidson. Nevertheless, the British marched through the river, upwards of 500 yards wide, and about three feet deep, sustaining a constant fire from the militia on the opposite bank, without returning it till they had made good their passage. The light infantry, as soon as they had reached the land, formed, and quickly routed the militia, killing or wounding about forty of them. General Davidson was the last who remained upon the bank, and, in mounting his horse to make his escape, received a mortal wound. The loss of the British, in effecting this passage, in the face of the enemy, amounted only to forty, Col. Hall and three privates being killed, and thirty-six wounded.

As soon as the whole of the division had landed, Colonel Tarleton, with a detachment, was sent in pursuit of the militia: He overtook a party who had rendezvoused at Tar. rant's tavern, about ten miles from the ford, and furiously attacked and dispersed them. The other division of the British army passed the Catawba, at Beattie's ford, in the course of the day and night joined Lord Cornwallis's division, about five miles from the ford, on the road to Salisbury.

The passage of the Catawba being effected, the American guards stationed at the different fords were withdrawn, and the light troops under Morgan, began a precipitate retreat towards the river Yadkin. They reached the trading ford on that river in the night, between the second and third of February, and with the assistance of all the boats and flats that could be collected, completed the passage with their baggage by the following evening. But a heavy rain that fell during the day, rendered the river unfordable by the

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next morning. All the boats and flats having been secured by Morgan on the other side of the river, the river itself being unfordable, and continuing to rise; Morgan's detachment from fortunate incidents, had another hair-breadth escape. All hopes of preventing the junction of the two divisions of the American army were now at an end; but the British commander had another object, not less essential. This was to get between the American army and Virginia, to which province it was obvious Gen. Greene meant to retreat. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, determined to march up the western banks of the Yadkin, and pass by the shallow fords near its source. But before this was effected, the two divisions of the American army made a junction at Guildford Court-house. Though this had taken place, their combined numbers were so much inferior to the British, that Gen. Greene could not risk an action. He therefore called a council of war, and by their advice, a retreat into Virginia without hazarding an action was finally resolved upon. A light army was formed of about seven hundred of the American troops, who were directed to manœuvre in front of the British line of march, whilst the rest of the army with the baggage, proceeded by the nearest route to Boyd's ferry, on the river Dan, where on the fourteenth of February they were passed over with ease. But the American light army, which was the last in crossing, was so closely pursued, that the van of the British just arrived on the opposite banks as the rear of the Americans had crossed. The hardships and difficulties which the royal army had undergone, for want of their tents and baggage, in this long and rapid pursuit, through a wild and unsettled country, were exceeded by the mortification that all their toils were to no purpose.

The American army being thus driven out of North-Carolina, Lord Cornwallis returned from the banks of the Dan to Hillsborough. On his arrival there, he erected the King's standard, and invited by proclamation all loyal subjects to repair to it, and take an active part in assisting him to restore order and constitutional government. Soon after the King's standard was erected at Hillsborough, a considerable number of the inhabitants were preparing to assemble, when Gen. Greene, alarmed with the intelligence of their motions, and the presumed effect of Lord Cornwallis's proclamation, and being about the same time reinforced with six

hundred Virginia militia, under General Stevens, took the resolution of again crossing the Dan, and re-entering North Carolina. This was done by the light troops under Col. Lee, and these on the next day, were followed by General Greene with the rest of the army. Upon the branches of Haw river a number of loyalists having assembled, and Col. Tarleton being detached towards that part of the country to encourage the insurrection of the loyalists, the American Col. Lee hastened with his legion towards the same quarter, in order to counteract Tarleton's operations. About three hundred and fifty of these loyalists assembled, and on the twenty-fifth of February were proceeding to Tarleton's encampment, when they were met in a lane by Lee with his legion. The loyalists mistook them for the royal detachment sent for their support, and allowed themselves to be surrounded before they discovered their error. The Americans cut them down as they were crying out "God save the king." They were considered by the Americans as being cowards, who not only wanted spirit to defend their constitutional rights, but who unnaturally co-operated with strangers in fixing the chains of foreign domination on their country. Many of them on this occasion suffered the extremity of military vengeance. Tarleton was refreshing his legion about a mile from this scene of slaughter. Upon hearing the alarm he returned to Hillsborough.

After this event, Lord Cornwallis thought it expedient to retire from Hillsborough, and take a new position between Haw and Deep rivers, so as to cover the country in his rear. The defeat of the loyalists, and the return of the American army, deluded all his schemes. Nothing could have been more unfavorable to his views than his retreat upon the approach of General Greene's army. If the loyalists were before cautious and slow, they now became timid in the extreme, and dreaded taking any active measure whatsoever in behalf of the royal government.

As the British army retired, the American advanced. It was Gen. Greene's plan not to venture an action, but to keep alive the courage of his party, to depress that of the loyalists, and to harass the foragers and detachments of the British, till reinforcements should arrive. He took post between Troublesome Creek and Reedy Fork, where he lay seven days within ten miles of Cornwallis's camp, changing

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his position every night, in order to avoid the possibility of an engagement. The American light troops and militia were posted upon the branches of Reedy-Fork, whilst Gen. Greene with the main army at some distance, inclined towards Guildford Court-house. In this position Lord Cornwallis intended to attack the light troops and compel them to retire to a greater distance; which at the same time would offer a favourable opportunity for attacking Gen. Greene if he should move to their assistance. On the sixth of March, Cornwallis with his army passed Allowance Creek, and marched towards Reedy-Fork. But fortunately the American light troops received timely information of the march of the British army, and retired across Reedy-Fork. At Witzell's Mill upon that Creek, they made a stand, but were soon dislodged. General Greene, however, again defeated Lord Cornwallis's project: for he did not march to the assistance of his light troops, but retreated over the Haw, in order to preserve his communication with the roads, by which he expected his supplies and reinforcements. In this manner he manœuvred for three weeks, to avoid an action; but by the end of that period, he was joined by two brigades of militia from North Carolina, under Generals Butler and Eaton, and one from Virginia under Gen. Lawson, and four hundred regulars raised for eighteen months. He had also been joined, since his last return into North Carolina, by the militia from the frontiers under Colonels Campbell and Preston.

General Greene, whose army now consisted of about four thousand five hundred men, determined no longer to avoid an engagement. He repassed the Haw, and moving forward to Guildford Court-house, took post within twelve miles of the British army. Cornwallis, convinced by these movements that Greene would no longer avoid an engagement, embraced the opportunity of giving him battle. Accordingly on the evening of the fourteenth of March he sent the baggage to Bell's Mill upon Deep river; and at dawn the next morning put his army in motion towards Guildford Court-house. At some distance from Guildford the advanced guard of both armies met. The British advance consisted of the cavalry, the light infantry of the guards, and the yagers, under the command of Col. Tarleton; that of the American
Vol. II.

ans was commanded by Col. Lee, and was composed of his legion, with some mountaineers and Virginia militia. A sharp conflict ensued, which was well supported on both sides. Col. Lee behaved with great bravery, and maintained his ground with firmness, until the twenty-third regiment advanced to the support of Tarleton, which obliged the Americans to retire.

During the skirmish between the advanced guards, Gen. Greene drew up his army on commanding ground, in order of battle, in three lines. The front was composed of the two brigades of North-Carolina militia, which were posted behind a fence in the skirt of wood, with open ground in front of their centre, and their two flanks extending into the woods. The second line consisted of the Virginia militia under the Generals Stevens and Lawson, and the third of two brigades of continental troops, commanded by Gen. Huger and Col. Williams. A detachment of continental light-infantry, a regiment of riflemen, and a detachment of dragoons under Col. Washington, formed a corps of observation on the right flank, and on the left was posted a detachment of light-infantry, a corps of riflemen, and Col. Lee, with his legion.

During a brisk cannonade in front, the British commander made his disposition for the attack. The seventy-first regiment, with the Hessian regiment of Bose, led by Gen. Leslie, and the first battalion of the guards, commanded by Colonel Norton, formed the right of the British line; and the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, under the command of Colonel Webster, with the grenadier and second battalion of the guards, commanded by Brig. Gen. O'Hara, formed the left. The yagers, and some light-infantry, posted on the left of the artillery, and the cavalry in column behind it on the road, formed a corps of observation. The British advanced, and after having delivered their first fire, rapidly charged with their bayonets. The front line of the Americans immediately gave way, and retreated behind their second line. The second line stood their ground, keeping up for a considerable time a galling fire, which did great execution. At length, however, they were compelled to retreat, and fell back upon the continentals. The British line being so much extended to the right and left, in order to show a front equal to that of the Americans,

was broken into intervals in the pursuit of the first and second American lines. They, however moved forward, and Colonel Stuart with the second battalion of the guards, reaching the open ground at Guildford Court-house, immediately attacked a body of continentals that was formed on the left of the road, which they routed; but pursuing them towards the wood in their rear, were thrown into confusion by a heavy fire received from another body of continentals, and, being instantly charged by Washington's dragoons, were driven back with great slaughter. But the whole of the British line emerging from the woods on the right and left, and the American left flank being turned, a general retreat took place, which was conducted with order and regularity. They retired no farther than over Reedy Fork, a distance of about three miles, where Gen. Greene halted till he had collected most of the stragglers, and then retreated to Speedwell's iron-works, on Troublesome Creek, ten miles distant from Guildford.

The loss of the Americans in this action did not exceed four hundred in killed and wounded. They also lost four pieces of artillery and two ammunition waggons. Among the killed, was Major Anderson of the Maryland line, and the Generals Huger and Stevens were among the wounded. The whole loss of the British, according to their official returns, amounted to five hundred and thirty-two, in killed, wounded and missing. The guards lost Colonel Stuart, and among their wounded were Brigadier Generals O'Hara and Howard; and Colonels Tarleton and Webster. The latter, an officer of distinguished merit, died of his wounds, to the great regret of the whole royal army.

The loss of the British was such, that Lord Cornwallis could neither give immediate pursuit, nor follow the blow the day after the action. The British army besides, was almost destitute of provisions, and although they were the conquerors, a retreat for them became necessary, and the Americans had all the good consequences of a victory. About seventy of the wounded, not in a condition to travel, were left at the Quaker's Meeting-house, under the protection of a flag of truce; and on the third day after the action, Lord Cornwallis put his army in motion to retire towards Cross Creek; but before he began his march, he thought proper to issue a proclamation, setting forth his com-

plete victory, and calling on all loyal subjects to stand forth, and take an active part in restoring order and good government, and offering a pardon and protection to all rebels, murderers excepted, who would surrender themselves on or before the 20th of April.

Previous to the march of the British army into North-Carolina, a detachment from Charleston was sent round by water under the command of Major Craig, who took possession of Wilmington in North-Carolina, a post with which Lord Cornwallis in his progress to the North-ward intended to open a communication, for the purpose of obtaining supplies. But he distance, the narrowness of Cape Fear river, the commanding elevation of its banks, and the hostile sentiments of the inhabitants on each side of it forbade the attempt. The destitute condition of the British army, now made it necessary to move towards that quarter, from whence supplies could be obtained. As Wilmington lies near the mouth of Cape Fear river, and the settlement of Cross-creek, lying upon a branch of the same river, about one hundred miles higher up the country, Lord Cornwallis hoped, that by marching to that place, his army would be plentifully furnished with provisions. But upon his arrival at Cross-creek, he found himself disappointed in all his expectations, provision being extremely scarce, and the opening of a communication with Wilmington impracticable. Cornwallis therefore proceeded with his army to Wilmington, where they arrived on the seventh of April.

As soon as General Greene received information of the movements of Cornwallis, he put his army in motion to follow him. Having no means of providing for the wounded, he wrote a letter to the neighboring inhabitants of the Quaker persuasion, in which he urged them to take care of the wounded of his own, and the British forces : It had the desired effect, and the Quakers supplied the hospitals with every comfort in their power. The Americans pursued Cornwallis as far as Ramsay's mill on Deep river, where they desisted from following him any farther. Gen. Greene resolved to return to South-Carolina, and re-commence offensive military operations, in preference to pursuing Cornwallis. While the two armies were in North-Carolina, those distinguished partizans, Sumpter and Marion, though surrounded with enemies, had kept the field. Having

mounted their followers, their motions were rapid, and their attacks unexpected. They intercepted the British convoys of provisions, infested their out-posts, beat up their quarters, and harrassed their detachments with such frequent alarms, that they were obliged to be always on their guard.

General Sumpter, who had urged Gen. Greene to return to the southern extreme of the confederacy, was about this time authorised to raise a state brigade for eighteen months. He had also prepared the militia to co-operate with the returning army of General Greene. The British had erected a chain of posts from the capital of South-Carolina to the extreme districts of the state, which had regular communications with each other. Previous to his setting out on his march for Carolina, General Greene sent orders to General Pickens, to prevent supplies from going to the British garrisons at Ninety-Six and Augusta; and also detached Col. Lee to advance before the continental troops. The latter within eight days penetrated through the intermediate country to General Marion's quarters upon the Santee, and the main army under Greene, in the mean time, had also entered South-Carolina, and made its appearance before Camden.

Lord Cornwallis receiving information of Gen. Greene's march, determined to take advantage of the absence of that General from North Carolina, to march through that province into Virginia, and form a junction with the corps that had been acting there from the beginning of the year, first under Gen. Arnold, and afterwards under Gen. Philips, in order to make a diversion in favour of the British operations in North-Carolina. Cornwallis thought that this movement might have a tendency to draw Gen. Greene back to the northward. Accordingly he began his march from Wilmington on the twenty-fifth of April, after having there remained eighteen days. He was not joined by the loyalists, and thus his victory at Guildford had all the effects of a decisive defeat.

While General Greene was on his march against Camden, fort Watson, which lay between Camden and Charleston, was invested by Gen. Marion and Col. Lee. After having erected a work which commanded the fort, from which they fired into it with great execution, the garrison, consisting of one hundred and fourteen men, surrendered by capitulation.

The British garrison at Camden, under Lord Rawdon, amounted to above nine hundred men, and Gen. Greene's forces consisted of nine hundred and thirty continental soldiers, and about three hundred North-Carolina militia. This force was insufficient for storming the British works, or even regularly investing them. Gen. Greene after various changes of position, at length retired to Hobkirk's hill, about two miles from the British lines, in expectation of alluring the garrison out of their lines. Lord Rawdon having received information, that Gen. Greene had detached part of his militia to bring up his heavy baggage and cannon, which for some cause or other, had been sent off some days before, conceived this the proper time for an attack. Accordingly in the morning of the twenty-fifth of April, he marched out with all his forces, and by making a circuit under cover of the woods, gained Greene's left flank undiscovered. The Americans met the attack with great resolution. Their front consisted of Continentals, with the Virginia brigade on the right, and the Maryland brigade on the left. Their artillery arrived just as the action began, and was placed in the centre. Their second line was formed wholly of militia. The narrow front which the British presented, induced Gen. Greene to make an alteration in his first disposition, with a view of hemming them in on every side. He ordered the right of the Virginia and the left of the Maryland brigades to take the British troops in flank, whilst the remainder of these two brigades marched down the hill to attack them in front. Colonel Washington was detached with the cavalry to fall upon their rear. Lord Rawdon, by quickly extending his front, repulsed those who descended the hill, after a brave resistance. They were pursued by the British troops, and Lord Rawdon thereby gaining the summit of the eminence, was enabled to bring the remainder of his force into action, and at length put to route the whole of the American force. Greene however, retreated with such order, that most of his wounded, and all his artillery were carried off. He encamped again at Rugeley's mills, about twelve miles from the field of action. The British retired to Camden. Their loss, including the wounded and missing, amounted to two hundred and fifty eight. The loss of the Americans in killed, wounded and missing, amounted to two hundred and sixty-two.

By the arrival of Colonel Watson, with five hundred men from the Pedee, which replaced the loss of men sustained in the action, Lord Rawdon found himself again in a situation for acting. The victory at Hobkirk's hill, like that of Guilford Court house, had produced no consequences beneficial to the British interest. The general disaffection of the country was increasing; and the American partizans were more active than ever in their enterprises to interrupt the communication between Camden and Charleston. To abandon Camden, therefore, became unavoidable; but Lord Rawdon, before he evacuated his post, resolved to strike a blow at General Greene. The latter had passed the Wateree, and encamped behind Twenty-five mile-creek, where by making a circuit Lord Rawdon thought to get into his rear. In the night succeeding the day, on which Col. Watson arrived, Rawdon marched from Camden: but General Greene having received intelligence of Watson's arrival, and concluding that Rawdon thus reinforced, would lose no time to strike at him, moved to a greater distance, and took a position more easily defended: Lord Rawdon followed him thither, and after having driven in his piquets, thought proper to return to Camden, without making any farther attempt. After having burnt the goal, mills, many private houses, and a great deal of his own baggage, Lord Rawdon evacuated Camden on the tenth of May, and proceeded to Monk's Corner, for the greater security of Charleston.

In the evacuation of this post, Lord Rawdon discovered as much prudence, as he had shewn bravery in its defence. After the fall of Fort Watson, the chain of communication with Charleston was broken, and the conveyance of provisions became precarious. Cut off from all communication with Lord Cornwallis, the British would have hazarded the capital of South Carolina, by keeping large detachments in their distant out-posts. They therefore determined to contract their limits by retiring within the Santee.

On the day after the evacuation of Camden, the post at Orangeburg, consisting of eighty men, surrendered to General Sumpter, and on the day following fort Mott, situated on the South side of the Congaree, capitulated. The garrison consisting of one hundred and sixty-five men, surrendered at discretion. The British post at Neilson's ferry was then evacuated, after having destroyed a great part of their stores.

On the day following, Fort Granby, garrisoned by three hundred and fifty men, surrendered to Col. Lee. General Marion, with a party of Militia, marched about the same time to Georgetown, to attack the British post at that place. After having worked one night at their approaches, the garrison evacuated their works, and retired to Charleston.

Thus the British, within a short space of time, lost six posts, and abandoned all the northern and north-eastern parts of South-Carolina. General Greene now turned his attention to the western frontier, and with equal facility hoped to reduce the British posts at Augusta, in Georgia, and Ninety-six in South-Carolina. Immediately after Lee's success at Fort Granby, he, with his legion was detached to join Colonel Pickens, and lay siege to Augusta, whilst General Greene with the main army, marched to invest Ninety-six. A detachment from Lee's legion speedily reduced Fort Golphin, situated on the banks of the Savannah, some miles below Augusta. After this the two commanders advanced with their whole force against Fort Cornwallis at Augusta. Two batteries were erected within thirty yards of the parapet, which overlooked the fort. From these eminences the American riflemen fired into the works with success. At length the fort with about three hundred men surrendered on honorable terms of capitulation. The Americans during the siege had about forty men killed and wounded.

While operations were carrying on against the small posts, General Greene had laid siege to Ninety-Six; in which Col. Cruger with his detachment, was advantageously posted. Ninety-Six took its name from being that number of miles distant from the town of Kecowee, in the Cherokee country; and, like other villages on the frontiers, was originally surrounded with a stockade, for the protection of the inhabitants against any sudden attack from the Indians. In the year 1780, after it came into the possession of the British troops, some other works were added; the principle of which, was on the right of the village, in the form of a star. It had sixteen salient and re-entering angles, with a ditch, fraise, and abbatis. Block-houses were also erected in the village, traverses made for the security of the troops, and covered communications between different parts of the works. But for the defence of all these works, the British

had only three pieces of artillery. The garrison consisted of about five hundred and fifty men, among whom were two hundred loyal militia.

On the twenty-first of May, the advance of the American army appeared in sight of the works. In the evening of the same day, General Greene encamped his whole army in a wood within cannon-shot of the village; and in the night two works were thrown up within seventy paces of the fortifications. On the following morning, under cover of an incessant fire from the three pieces of artillery that were placed in one of the salient angles of the fort, a party sallied, and drove the advance of the besiegers from their works; which they demolished before Greene could give any assistance.

The next night the Americans again broke ground, and erected two strong batteries at the distance of four hundred yards. They worked so expeditiously, that they had completed their second parallel by the third of June. An heavy cross fire now commenced which enfiladed several of the works. The besiegers also pushed on a sap against the star, and continued to advance their batteries; one of which was erected within forty yards of the abbatis, and raised forty feet high: Riflemen posted upon the top of it, did such execution, that the guns of the star were unmanned during the day, and used only in the night. A mine and two trenches were so far extended as to be within six feet of the ditch. The sufferings of the garrison by this time had also been augmented by the want of water, and the defence of the place could not be much longer protracted. But at that interesting moment, an American loyalist, in open day, under the fire of the Americans, having rode through their piquets and reached the fort, conveyed to the British commander a verbal message from Lord Rawdon, that he was near at hand with about two thousand men for their relief.

On the third of June, three regiments from Ireland had arrived at Charleston, which enabled Lord Rawdon, on the seventh of June, to march for the relief of Ninety-Six. His whole force amounted to about eighteen hundred infantry, and one hundred and fifty cavalry. General Greene

having regular intelligence of Lork Rawdon's movements, and finding that it would be impossible to reduce Ninety-Six by regular approaches before his arrival, had no alternative but to raise the siege, or attempt an assault. In the morning of the eighteenth of June, the Americans commenced a heavy cannonade from all their batteries; and at noon two parties advanced under cover of the trenches, and made lodgments in the ditch. Other parties followed with hooks to reduce the parapet, and the Virginia and Maryland brigades, fired by platoons from the lines of the third parallel. But a vigorous sally from the fort put a stop to the operations of the assailants; and General Greene on the following day raised the siege. His loss in the assault and previous conflicts, was one hundred and sixty-six men. That of the garrison amounted to eighty-five, killed and wounded. General Greene, with his army on the twentieth, crossed the Saluda, and on the day following, Lord Rawdon arrived at Ninety-Six. He pursued the retreating army as far as the banks of the Enoree without overtaking them, and then returned towards Ninety-Six.

The situation of the American army was at that time truly distressing. After having made themselves nearly masters of the whole country, they were compelled to consult their safety by retreating to its remotest extremity. But General Greene, whose mind was above despair, adopted such measures as would enable him soon to repair the lost advantages. The post of Ninety-Six, being without the limits to which the British commanders, from recent events, were obliged to confine their defence, Lord Rawdon determined immediately to evacuate it. Leaving Colonel Cruger with more than half his force, with orders to escort the loyalists as soon as they should be ready to move; he, with eight hundred infantry, and sixty cavalry, marched towards the Congaree. General Greene no sooner heard that the British force was divided, than he returned, with a view of interrupting Lord Rawdon's operations on the Congaree. One of the British foraging parties was surprized by Lee's legion, and about forty cavalry were made prisoners. The appearance of the American light troops in that quarter of the country soon convinced Lord Rawdon that General Greene's army was at no great distance. Surprized at this unexpected

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movement of his lately retreating foe, the British commander retired from the Congaree and marched to Orangeburgh, where he was joined by Colonel Stuart, with the third regiment, from Charleston.

General Greene in his turn pursued the British, and advanced within five miles of their encampment; but finding it too hazardous to attack Rawdon in his advantageous position, he retired towards the Congaree. During this time, Colonel Cruger evacuated Ninety-Six, which he had gallantly defended, conducted the loyal inhabitants within the British posts, and then marched towards Orangeburgh to join Lord Rawdon. In order to induce the British to leave Orangeburgh, Sumpter, Lee, and Marion, with their respective corps, were detached by different routes to the lower part of the country, where they commenced separate and successful attacks on convoys and detachments in the vicinity of Charleston; but failed in an attempt upon the British post at Monk's Corner. General Greene with his army, retired to the high hills of Santee; where he was soon after joined by the different corps under Lee, Sumpter and Marion. Lord Rawdon, on account of his ill health, embarked for Europe, and the command of the British troops devolved on Colonel Stuart.

The limits of the British possessions in that quarter, being now confined within the three great rivers Santee, Congaree, and Edisto, Colonel Stuart conceived himself able to hold all that fertile country, which is in a great measure enclosed by these rivers. He therefore moved forward, and encamped near the junction of the Wateree and Congaree. General Greene, having been reinforced by a brigade of continental troops from North Carolina, now concluded to act offensively. On the twenty second of August, he left the high hills of Santee, and crossed the Wateree near Camden. He then directed his march to Friday's Ferry on the Congaree, where he was joined by General Pickens with the militia of Ninety-Six, and by a corps from South Carolina under Colonel Henderson. On his approach the British fell back to the Eutaw Springs, about forty miles from the Congaree. General Greene continued to advance towards Eutaw, and at four in the morning of the eighth of September, being then about seven miles from Eutaw, he put his whole force in motion to make his projected

attack. As the Americans advanced, they met two parties of the British who fell an easy prey to them. A few straggling horsemen that escaped, apprized the British commander of Greene's approach. The British army was then hastily drawn up across the road on the heights near the Eutaw Springs. The Americans, advancing in two lines, attacked with great impetuosity, and rushing on in good order thro' a heavy cannonade and a shower of musketry, the centre and left of the British gave way, after a severe slaughter. The success on the right was various, and the artillery on both sides was several times taken and retaken. But the British on their retreat took post in a strong brick-house, and in a piqueted garden upon the right of the road; in which position they renewed the action, and effectually stopped the progress of the Americans. The latter brought up four six pounders to batter the house: but the fire from within, continued to be so well supported, that the American artillery became useless, and most of the officers and men that were attached to it, were either killed or wounded. The left wing of the British having in the mean time recovered from its confusion, and again formed the line, the Americans were at last obliged to retire, leaving two of the four pieces of cannon that had been brought up against the house. They retreated to the nearest water in their rear. In the evening of the next day, Colonel Stuart left seventy of his wounded men, and a thousand stand of arms, and retired to Monk's Corner. The American commander again advanced to the ground left by the British troops, but soon afterwards retreated to his former encampment on the high hills of Santee.

The whole loss of the Americans in this action may be estimated at about seven hundred men; including sixty commissioned officers, of whom seventeen were killed, and forty-three wounded. About sixty were taken prisoners, and amongst them Colonel Washington, who commanded the American reserve. The loss of the British army, inclusive of five hundred prisoners, was upwards of eleven hundred men.

This was the last action of any consequence, that happened in South-Carolina between the American and British troops. General Greene in the course of the campaign had

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been driven from South-Carolina into Virginia, was afterwards worsted in two general engagements, and finally obliged to raise the siege of Ninety-Six; yet, through his own firmness and perseverance, he at last succeeded in the main object of the campaign. Gloomy as the prospects were at its opening, he closed it with glory. His army, composed of raw troops, unpaid, and in want of every thing, had to contend with veteran soldiers, supplied with every thing that the wealth of Great-Britain, or the plunder of Carolina could procure. Under all these disadvantages, however, he compelled the British to retire from the extremity of the state and finally to confine themselves to Charleston Neck, and some posts in its neighborhood.

It has already been mentioned that Lord Cornwallis, on the twenty-fifth of April, had proceeded on his march from Wilmington towards Virginia. Though this General was very apprehensive of danger from any operations of General Greene in South-Carolina, yet he hoped either that Lord Rawdon would be able to stand his ground, or in the most unfavorable event, that by the conquest of Virginia, the recovery of South-Carolina would be at any time practicable. The British on their march from Wilmington to Halifax, on the banks of the Roanoke, met with scarcely any interruption. On their arrival there, they defeated several parties of the Americans, and took some stores, with very little loss on either side. Lord Cornwallis having detached Colonel Tarleton with the cavalry, and the fords on the Holloway, and the Meherrin, being guarded by the Queen's rangers from Arnold's army, these rivers were successively crossed by the Royal army, and a junction of the two armies took place at Petersburg on the twentieth of May.

It will be remembered that the Marquis de la Fayette had been detached early in the year to Virginia, in order to co-operate with the French fleet in capturing Arnold and his whole detachment; and that this plan was defeated by the backwardness of the French, and the good conduct of the British Admiral. After this, the Marquis marched back as far as the head of Elk. But the British having become more formidable by the arrival of a reinforcement under the command of General Philips, he received an order to return to Virginia to oppose the British forces. So great

however, was the superiority of the British forces, that the Marquis could not undertake any offensive operations.

After the junction of the two British armies at Petersburg, Lord Cornwallis, who had assumed the command of the whole, first endeavored to strike a blow at the Marquis; who then was encamped between Richmond and Wilton. He marched from Petersburg on the twenty-fourth of May, and crossed James River at Westover, about thirty miles below Fayette's encampment. But the force under Fayette, being much inferior to that which was opposed to him, he quitted the vicinity of Richmond, and as soon as he heard that Cornwallis had crossed James River, he retired towards the back country, inclining his route to the northward, that he might be in readiness to form a junction with General Wayne, who was then on his march through Maryland, to reinforce him with eight hundred men of the Pennsylvania line. The British army for some time followed the route taken by the Americans; but the Marquis de la Fayette, young as he was, acted so cautiously on the defensive, and made so judicious a choice of posts, as to prevent any advantage being taken of his weakness. He effected a junction at Raconford with General Wayne.

Lord Cornwallis foiled in his design of preventing this junction, now directed his attention to other objects. The one was to break up the session of the General Assembly, then met under a guard at Charlotteville, and the other was to destroy the American stores at the point of Fork, so called, from being the point of land that intervenes at the conflux of the two great branches of James River, the Fluvanna and Revanna. The first expedition was committed to Colonel Tarleton, who succeeded so far as to disperse the Assembly, capture seven of its members, and to destroy a great quantity of stores, at and near Charlotteville. The execution of the second was entrusted to Colonel Simcoe, who, at the head of about 500 men, marched to the Point of Fork. But upon his arrival there, he found that not only the stores, but the whole force under the command of Baron Steuben, had passed the river. As both the American stores and troops were now out of his reach, Simcoe made use of a stratagem which was partly successful. With a view of impressing the Baron with the belief, that the troops now at

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the Point of Fork were the advance of the British army, he displayed his force to as great advantage as possible, upon the heights opposite to the Baron's encampment. In the following night the Baron moved off, leaving a great part of his arms and stores on the bank of the river, which fell into the hands of the British.

While the junction of Fayette's and Wayne's armies was forming, the main army of the British got between the American army and its stores, which had been removed from Richmond to Albemarle Old Court-house. But the Marquis, recrossing the Rappahannock river, by forced marches got within a few miles of the British army, when they were two days march from Albemarle Court-house; and by opening in the night a nearer road, which had been long disused, fixed himself the next day, to the surprise of Lord Cornwallis, between the British army and the American stores. Cornwallis, finding his schemes against the American stores frustrated, retreated to Williamsburg. Fayette followed the British army, and on the road was joined by Baron Steuben, with his detachment.

In the course of these various movements, immense quantities of property were destroyed. The superiority of the British army, especially of their cavalry, which they easily supplied with good horses from the stables and pastures in Virginia, enabled them to travers the country in all directions. But very few of the inhabitants, and scarcely any of the natives purchased safety by submission.

Soon after the arrival of Lord Cornwallis at Williamsburg, he received dispatches from New-York, in which Sir Henry Clinton made a requisition of part of the troops under his command in Virginia, directing that they should be sent to New-York without delay; and informing Lord Cornwallis at the same time, of the danger to which the royal army in that city was exposed from a combined attack which was expected from the French and Americans. But to understand the proper connection of the great events that followed, it is necessary to take a retrospect of the remote causes which produced them.

A dawn of prosperity had begun to appear in South-Carolina, under the auspices of General Greene; yet the affairs of America in general, seemed at this time to be in a

ruinous state ; and the contest on the point of ceasing, on the part of the Congress, for want of resources to maintain it. Some enterprize of importance was necessary to rouse afresh the energy of the people, and to restore the declining state of their affairs. The Congress had been disappointed in their expectations of the co-operation of a French fleet and army for three years successively ; but soon after the fall of Charleston, in May 1780, a statement of their distresses was made to the Court of France. A subsidy of six millions of livres were granted, and the king became their security for ten millions more, borrowed for their use, in the United Netherlands. At the same time, a naval co-operation was promised, and a conjunct expedition against their common foes projected.

In the month of March, 1781, M. de Grasse sailed from Brest with twenty-five sail of the line, several thousand land forces, and a large convoy, amounting to more than two hundred ships. A small part of this force was destined for the East-Indies ; but M. de Grasse with the greater part sailed for Martinique. The British Admirals Hood and Drake were detached to intercept the French fleet ; but a junction between the force of M. de Grasse, and eight ships of the line, and one of fifty guns, which were previously at Martinique and St. Domingo, was nevertheless effected. The British fleet in the West-Indies had been weakened by the departure of a squadron for the protection of the ships, which were employed in carrying to England the booty that had been taken at St. Eustatius, and by the combination of the French fleets in the West-Indies, they had a decided superiority. M. de Grasse, in the beginning of August, sailed with a large convoy destined for Europe ; and after seeing it out of danger, he directed his course for the Chesapeake, and arrived there on the 30th of the same month. M. de Barras, appointed to the command of the French fleet then in Rhode-Island, had arrived at Boston in the month of May, with dispatches for Count de Rochambeau. On the twenty-first of May, a conference took place at Weatherfield, in Connecticut, between the American and French generals. At this interview, it was agreed between them, to carry into execution the attempt against New-York, which they had meditated the preceding year ; if their force, when

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assembled, should be found equal to the enterprise : But, in all events, it was their determination upon the arrival of the Count de Grasse, to strike a blow at one or other of the British posts, where success was most reasonably to be expected. Letters were addressed by Gen. Washington to the Executive officers of the New-England States, requiring them to fill up the battalions, composing his army, and to have six thousand two hundred militia in readiness to march whenever he should call for them. The letters written by Gen. Washington to Congress, after his interview with the French generals, fell into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton, and in consequence of the information they contained, which alarmed him for the safety of New-York, he made a requisition of part of the troops under Lord Cornwallis's command in Virginia.

But the situation of Lord Cornwallis near the Capes of Virginia, the arrival of a reinforcement of three thousand German troops from Europe to New-York, the superior strength of that garrison, the backwardness of the States in filling up their battalions and embodying their militia, and the recent intelligence from Count de Grasse, that his destination was fixed to the Chesapeake, produced a total change of the plan of the campaign. Gen. Washington had assembled his army at Peek's Kill, and marching from thence to White Plains, was there joined, on the sixth of July, by the Count de Rochambeau with the French troops from Rhode-Island.

On the twenty-fourth of August, the allied American and French armies instead of proceeding on their original project against New-York, directed their march towards Virginia. The appearance of an intention to attack New-York, had nevertheless been kept up ; and, while this deception was played off, the army crossed the North River, and proceeded on their march uninterrupted.

Lord Cornwallis having received orders, as has already been mentioned, to send part of his troops to New-York, he immediately prepared to comply with Sir Henry Clinton's requisition ; and as, after the embarkation of those troops, he was of opinion that the force which remained would not be sufficient to enable him to remain at Williamsburg, he resolved to pass James River and retire to Portsmouth. As,

Accordingly, on the fourth of July, the British army marched from Williamsburg, and encamped on a piece of ground that covered a ford into the island of James Town. In this encampment the British army remained, whilst on the fifth and sixth, their bat-horses and baggage were passed the river. The Marquis de la Fayette, thinking that the main body of the British army had already crossed the river, advanced by forced marches to strike a blow at the rear guard. On the sixth of July, towards sunset, Fayette, with about nine hundred continentals, six hundred militia and some artillery, passed a morass and formed in front of the British encampment. The British immediately advanced to the attack in two lines. The right of the Americans being composed of militia only, were quickly put to flight: But on the left, the British were opposed by the Pennsylvania line and a party of Continentals, with two pieces of cannon. On that side the action, while it lasted, was sharp and bloody. The Americans, however, after a severe contest, were at last obliged to give way, and retreat across the morass. The British horse were ready to pursue, but the darkness of the night prevented all further operations.

The British army, having passed James river, proceeded to Portsmouth, where the embarkation of the troops destined for New-York, took place, but before the transports put to sea, Lord Cornwallis received orders from Sir Henry Clinton, which counter-manded their sailing, and at the same time directed Cornwallis to establish a defensive post for the protection of ships of the line, either at Old Point Comfort, on Hampton Road, or York Town on York River. But as the works constructed on Old Point Comfort, according to the report of the engineers who surveyed the place, would neither command the entrance into Hampton Road, nor secure any ships when lying at anchor within it, and the port of Portsmouth not being better calculated for the protection of Shipping, Lord Cornwallis had no other option than to fortify York and Gloucester, the only places that remained capable of affording the requisite protection to ships of war. Lord Cornwallis without loss of time evacuated Portsmouth, and on the twenty-second of August, he had all his forces concentrated at York and Gloucester.

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After the arrival of the Count de Grasse in the Chesapeake, he was immediately joined by an officer from the Marquis de la Fayette's army, to communicate to him the state of things in Virginia, and in consequence of the information received from this officer, de Grasse immediately took measures for blocking up York River, and for conveying up James River the French land force brought from the West-Indies, that it might form a junction with the troops under the Marquis de la Fayette. Four of de Grasse's line of battle ships, and several frigates were employed in blocking up York river, and the rest he moored in Lynhaven Bay. The troops brought from the West-Indies, consisting of three thousand two hundred men, under the command of the Marquis de St. Simon, soon after formed a junction with the continental troops under the Marquis de la Fayette, and the whole took post at Williamsburg.

Sir George Rodney, who commanded the British fleet in the West-Indies, seems to have been persuaded that it was de Grasse's intention to proceed to the Bay of Chesapeake. Upon the approach of the hurricane season, therefore, he detached Sir Samuel Hood to North America with fourteen sail of the line to reinforce the fleet then at New-York. This reinforcement arrived at Sandy-Hook, on the twenty-eight of August. Admiral Graves who had succeeded admiral Arbuthnot, upon his departure for England in the month of July, took the command of the whole consisting of twenty sail of the line, and sailed from the Hook on the thirty-first of August. Before his departure, intelligence had been received that the French squadron under M. de Barras at Rhode-Island, had sailed on the twenty-fifth; and it not being known then that the Count de Grasse had already arrived in the Chesapeake, and that the fleet under his immediate command was superior to that of Admiral Graves, great expectations were entertained that the British fleet would fall in with one or other of the French squadrons.

According to a pre-concerted plan, M. de Barras had sailed from Rhode-Island for the Chesapeake about the time de Grasse sailed from the West-Indies for the same place. But in order to avoid the British fleet, he had taken a circuit by Bermuda. In the mean time, Admiral Graves proceeded on to the Capes of Virginia, where he arrived on the fifth of September, and finding the French fleet at anchor within

the capes, and the wind being very fair, the British fleet entered to offer it battle. But as soon as the French commander perceived the British fleet, from an apprehension for the Rhode-Island squadron, which he expected, and to gain more sea room, he gave orders for his ships to slip their cables. Both fleets were now steering to the eastward in a line nearly parallel to each other; and getting clear of the Capes, at four in the afternoon a partial action commenced between the van and part of the centre of the two fleets, which continued until night put an end to it. No ship on either side was taken. The two fleets continued in sight of each other for five days, and were sometimes very near. But the French Admiral, although it was several times in his option, from having gained the wind, for good reasons declined renewing the action; to which the British Admiral, from the crippled state of his fleet could not compel him. Whilst the two fleets were manœuvring near the mouth of the Chesapeake, M. de Barras with his fleet, in the night, got unperceived within the Capes, and the Count de Grasse, on the tenth, bearing away for the Chesapeake, had the satisfaction to find him there in safety at anchor, with fourteen transports laden with heavy artillery, and all sorts of military stores proper for carrying on a siege. According to the accounts of the French, their loss in this action was about two hundred and twenty men killed and wounded, including four officers killed, and eighteen wounded. The loss of men on board the British fleet, amounted to ninety killed, and two hundred and forty-six wounded. The junction of the two French fleets gave de Grasse a decided superiority; and Admiral Graves, after reconnoitring the position of the French fleet, and finding that they blocked up the entrance of the Chesapeake, took his departure, and returned to New-York.

Whilst the American and French troops were proceeding on their march to Virginia, the British commander in chief at New-York, with a view of making a diversion in Connecticut, and drawing General Washington's attention that way, detached General Arnold with a considerable force to make an attempt upon New-London. They passed through the sound in transports, and landed in the morning of the sixth of September, about three miles from New-London, in two divisions; one on each side of the harbour. That

on the side of Groton, was commanded by Colonel Eyre ; and that on the side of New-London, by General Arnold. On the side of New-London, no great opposition was made : A redoubt, from which the Americans had begun a cannonade, was abandoned by them upon the approach of Arnold's division ; and Fort Trumbull, that commanded the harbour, was assaulted, and immediately carried. General Arnold took possession of New-London, after a feeble resistance from a small party of Americans, who were stationed there. But on the Groton side of the harbour, a regular work of considerable strength, called Fort Griswold, was erected. It was assaulted by the division under Colonel Eyre, and defended by the Americans with the utmost bravery. They entered the works through the embrasures, and a considerable carnage ensued, until the Americans were driven from the ramparts, and had ceased from all farther resistance. The British had two officers and forty-six soldiers killed, and eight officers, with one hundred and thirty-five soldiers wounded. Of the garrison, eighty-five were killed, including Colonel Ledyard, their commander : sixty were wounded, and seventy made prisoners. Ten or twelve ships in the harbour were burnt, which contained an immense quantity of European and West-India goods. They also contained some gunpowder ; by the explosion of which, the flames were communicated to the dwelling houses in the town ; and a great part of it was consumed. A great quantity of military stores, with fifty pieces of cannon, found in the different works, were also destroyed.

But the damage done to the Americans by this expedition, however great, was not of sufficient importance to stop General Washington in his progress to Virginia. It was of the utmost moment to pursue the enterprize in which he was now engaged, and it was not to be expected that he would abandon it for any partial consideration whatsoever.

The combined armies, after passing Philadelphia, marched to the head of Elk river, which falls into the Chesapeake at its interior extremity. The French troops passed from Newport to the vicinity of Yorktown, a distance of about five hundred miles ; and, what seldom happens, this army led through a foreign country, at so great a distance from their own, among a people of different customs, language, religion,

and manners, behaved with the utmost regularity. They had to pass through a country abounding in fruit, and at a time when the most delicious productions of nature, growing on and near the public highways, presented both opportunity and temptation to gratify their appetites. Yet so complete was their discipline, that in this long march, scarcely an instance could be produced of any thing being taken without the consent of the inhabitants.

General Washington and the Count de Rochambeau left the army upon its arrival at the head of Elk, and proceeded to Williamsburg, where they arrived on the 14th of September. They, with several other officers, immediately went to visit Count de Grasse, on board the *Ville de Paris*; and, at this meeting the plan of their future operations was finally agreed on. Accordingly, the combined forces were ordered to proceed on their way to Yorktown, partly by land, and partly down the Chesapeake. The whole, together with a body of Virginia militia, commanded by General Nelson, amounting in the aggregate to about twelve thousand men, rendezvoused at Williamsburg, on the twenty-fifth of September; and on the twenty-eighth, they moved down to the investure of Yorktown. The French fleet, at the same time, moved to the mouth of York river, and took a position which was calculated to prevent Cornwallis, either from retreating or receiving succour by water. The combined army encamped about two miles from the works of the British; but nothing material happened on this day, either within or without the lines. On the same evening, Lord Cornwallis received dispatches from the British commander in chief at New-York; in which he was informed, that upwards of five thousand troops should be immediately embarked on board the king's ships; that every exertion would be made both by the army and navy to relieve him; and that the British fleet of twenty-three sail of the line, would sail about the fifth of October; informing Lord Cornwallis at the same time, that Admiral Digby, with three more ships of the line, had just arrived at Sandy Hook. On the night after the receipt, Cornwallis withdrew his army within the works of the town, in full expectation of being able to hold both the posts of York and Gloucester until the promised relief arrived. The works abandoned by the British troops

were occupied the next day by detachments from the combined army.

For the security of Yorktown, the British had erected [*see the plan*] a battery, No. 1, of two six-pounders and one howitz; No. 2, a battery of three eighteen-pounders; No. 3, a battery of four eighteen-pounders, and five nine-pounders; No. 4, a battery of five eighteen-pounders, and two six-pounders; No. 5, a battery of one eighteen-pounder, and three nine pounders; No. 6, a battery of one eighteen-pounder, and four nine-pounders; No. 7, a battery of two eighteen-pounders, and two twelve-pounders; No. 8, a battery of two eighteen-pounders, and one nine-pounder; No. 9, a battery of two eighteen-pounders, and two twelve-pounders; No. 10, a battery of three eighteen-pounders, two twelve-pounders, one six-pounder, and one mortar; No. 11, a battery of one four and twenty-pounder, and two nine-pounders; No. 12, a battery of two twelve-pounders, and two howitzers; No. 13, a battery of two eighteen-pounders, and one twelve-pounder; No. 14, a battery of five nine-pounders.—On the Gloucester side, there were erected, No. 15, a battery of ten eighteen-pounders, and one twelve-pounder; No. 16, two batteries of eight guns of different caliber; No. 17, was part of the British shipping.

As soon as the British had quitted their outward position, [*see the plan*] *a*, and the combined forces had taken possession of the ground from which the British had retired, the town became regularly invested; and the combined army in the same night began to break ground: the French making their approaches on the right of it, and the Americans on the left. The first parallel was thrown up during the night of the sixth of October, *b*. On the ninth of October opened an American battery of three eighteen-pounders, three four and twenty-pounders, two howitz, and two mortars, *c*. On the tenth, opened another American battery of four eighteen-pounders, *d*, and a bomb-battery of four mortars, *e*. On the ninth, also, opened a French battery of four twelve-pounders, and six mortars, *f*. On the tenth, opened three French batteries, consisting of sixteen pieces of eighteen and twenty-four-pounders, *g*, and at night opened a French bomb-battery of six mortars, *h*. On the night of the eleventh, part of the second parallel was thrown up by a detachment from both armies, *i*. In the meantime, the garrison did every thing in their power

to interrupt the besiegers in their work, by opening new embrasures for guns, and keeping up a constant fire with all the howitzers and small mortars they could man. And about this time, the loss of men sustained by the combined army, was more considerable than at any other period during the siege. They were particularly annoyed and impeded in their approaches, by two redoubts, advanced about three hundred yards in front of the British works, *k* and *l*. These they resolved to assault; and, to excite a spirit of emulation, the reduction of the one was committed to the Americans, *k*, and the other to the French, *l*. The attempt was made in the night of the fourteenth, and in both instances, succeeded; and, by the unwearied labour of the besiegers, both redoubts were included in their second parallel before the morning, *m*. In the second parallel, the French had three batteries of sixteen pieces of eighteen and twenty-four-pounders, *n*. There was also a French bomb-battery designed for ten mortars, *o*. In the redoubt *k*, the Americans opened on the fifteenth with one howitz; and on the seventeenth, in the morning, with two eighteen-pounders, and in the redoubt *l*, with two mortars. An American battery of four eighteen-pounders, opened in the morning of the seventeenth, *p*. And another in the second parallel of seven eighteen-pounders, three twenty-four-pounders, howitzers, and mortars, had opened on the sixteenth, *q*.

At the time of the British quitting their outward position, the legion cavalry and mounted infantry under the Duke de Lauzun, with a body of Virginia militia, commanded by General Welden, passed over the river to Gloucester, took a position in front of the British works, and kept that place so fully blockaded, as to cut off all communication between it and the country. The whole was under the command of General de Choisy.

The besiegers kept up an incessant cannonade, and the continued discharge of shot and shells, in a few days damaged the unfinished works of the besieged on the left of the town, silenced the guns that were mounted on them, and occasioned the loss of a great number of men. The shells reached the ships in the harbour; so that the *Charon*, a forty-four gun-ship (18) and two transports, were burned. The British troops having been weakened by sickness, as well as by the fire of the besiegers, Lord Cornwallis could not venture to

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make so large forties as to hope from them much success ; but foreseeing that the British works on the left, already half ruined, could not stand long, an attempt to retard the opening of the batteries of the second parallel of the besiegers became necessary. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, ordered a fortie of three hundred and fifty men, under the direction of Colonel Abercrombie. This detachment sallied forth before daybreak of the sixteenth of October, forced the redoubts that covered the batteries, spiked some cannon, and after killing and wounding about one hundred of the French troops, who had the guard of this part of the trenches, returned within the lines with some loss. But this action yielded little advantage. The cannon were again rendered fit for service ; and, before the evening, the whole battery and parallels were nearly complete.

At this time the works of the besieged were so damaged, that they scarcely could shew a single gun on that side of the works attacked by the Americans. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, had no hope left but from offering terms of capitulation, or attempting an escape. He determined to attempt the latter, on the Gloucester side of the river, where de Choisy commanded, and lay with a body of troops at some distance from the works. The British commander resolved to attack de Choisy before break of day with his whole force : and after defeating him, to proceed to the upper country ; leaving his future route uncertain, until he came opposite to the fords of the Great rivers, where he intended suddenly to turn off to the northward, to force his way through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the Jerseys, and join the British commander in chief at New-York. Accordingly boats were prepared to receive the troops in the night, and to transport them to Gloucester-Point. After one whole embarkation had crossed, a violent storm of wind and rain dispersed the boats employed on this business, and frustrated the whole scheme. In this divided state of the British force, the American batteries opened at break of day ; but the boats returned soon afterwards, and brought back the troops that had been carried over in the night with some loss, the passage between York and Gloucester being exposed to the American fire.

With the failure of this scheme, the last hope of the British army expired. Their works were tumbling into ruin ;

not a gun could be fired from them. Longer resistance could answer no good purpose: the works being assailable in many places, the garrison exhausted by the fatigue of constant watching and unremitting duty, and reduced in its numbers by sickness and the sword. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, made proposals for a capitulation. The terms were adjusted in the course of the next day; and on the nineteenth of October, the posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered to General Washington, as commander in chief of the combined army; and the ships of war, transports, and other vessels to the Count de Grasse, as commander of the French fleet.

The principal articles of capitulation were as follows: The troops to be prisoners of war to Congress, and the naval force to France. The officers to retain their side arms and private property of every kind; but all property, obviously belonging to the inhabitants of the United States, to be subject to be reclaimed. The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, and to be supplied with the same rations, as are allowed to soldiers in the service of Congress. A proportion of the officers to march into the country with the prisoners; the rest to be allowed to proceed on parole to Europe, to New-York, or to any other American maritime post in possession of the British. The honor of marching out with colors flying, which had been refused to General Lincoln on his giving up Charleston, was now refused to Earl Cornwallis; and General Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army at Yorktown, precisely in the same way his own had been conducted, about eighteen months before. Lord Cornwallis endeavored to obtain permission for the British and German troops to return to their respective countries, under no other restrictions than an engagement not to serve against France or America. He also tried to obtain an indemnity for those of the inhabitants who had joined him; but he was obliged to recede from the former, and also to consent that the loyalists in his camp should be given up, to the unconditional mercy of their country. His lordship nevertheless obtained permission for the Bonetta sloop of war to pass unexamined to New-York. This gave an opportunity of screening such of them, as were most obnoxious to the Americans.

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The regular troops of France and America, employed in this siege, consisted of about seven thousand of the former, and five thousand five hundred of the latter ; and they were assisted by about four thousand militia. On the part of the combined army, about three hundred were killed or wounded. On the part of the British, about five hundred ; and seventy were taken in the redoubts, which were carried by assault on the fourteenth of October. The troops of every kind that surrendered prisoners of war exceeded seven thousand men, but so great was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only three thousand eight hundred capable of bearing arms.

In the mean time the British commander in chief had taken measures to relieve Cornwallis. He draughted from the garrison at New-York, a corps of seven thousand of his best troops, with which he embarked, and the event of the siege not being then known, the fleet left Sandy-Hook on the nineteenth ; the day on which Lord Cornwallis surrendered. When they arrived on the Capes of Virginia, on the twenty-fourth, they received accounts of the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis. After cruizing a few days off the Capes, the fleet returned to New-York.

Such was the fate of that General, from whose previous successes the speedy conquests of the southern states had been so confidently expected. His troops had spread waste and ruin over the face of all the country, for four hundred miles to the westward. Their marches from Charleston to Camden, from Camden to the river Dan, from the Dan through North-Carolina to Wilmington, from Wilmington to Petersburg, and from Petersburg through many parts of Virginia, till they finally settled in Yorktown ; making a route of more than eleven hundred miles. Every place through which they passed, experienced the fatal effects of war ; and the reduction of such an army could not fail to occasion unusual transports of joy in the breasts of all who were wishing for independence. When the assault on the British works at Yorktown took place, the American division had orders to remember New-London* ; and to

* At the taking of Fort Griswold, among other acts of barbarity, one in particular, deserves mentioning. An officer of the British troops enquired, on his entering the fort, who com-

retaliate by putting the men in the redoubt to the sword. However, about five of the British only were killed, and the rest were captured. The American soldiers being asked why they had disobeyed orders by bringing them off as prisoners, answered, "we could not put them to death when they begged for their lives."

The campaign of this year terminated, in all parts of the United States, in favour of the Americans. It began very unfavourable in Carolina, mutiny in Jersey, and devastation in Virginia; yet in its close, the British were confined to their strong holds, in, or near New-York. Charleston, Savannah, and their whole army in Virginia was captured. During this year, they had acquired much plunder; by which individuals were enriched, but their nation was in no respect benefited; and the whole campaign passed away on their part, without any valuable conquest; from which higher purposes were answered, than destroying public stores, or distressing individuals. Before the close of this year, the misfortune of the British in Virginia, was followed by another in the West-Indies; which was the recapture of the Dutch island of St. Eustatius, by the Marquis de Bouillé. This island, fortified by nature, has only one safe landing place, protected by a fort. At the back of the island, however, are some small bays, where a landing, in very moderate weather, though at all times dangerous, might be effected. One of these, the British had left unguarded; of which the Marquis de Bouillé received intelligence. He immediately determined to attempt a descent: and having embarked about two thousand men in a number of small vessels, he sailed from Martinique, and took his measures so as to arrive before the place, where he proposed to land early in the night. In disembarking, many of the boats were dashed to pieces, and a number of men were lost. Only four hundred men were landed by an hour before daylight, on the twenty-sixth of November; the greatest part of the boats being by this time dashed to pieces, it was impossible to land the rest. The French troops were not equal in number to the garrison, and nothing but a bold

manded. Colonel Ledyard answered, "I did, but you do now;" and presented him his sword. The Colonel was immediately run through the body and killed.

attempt to take the fort by surprise could save them. De Bouillé put his troops in motion, and proceeded with the utmost expedition towards the fort, which was about six miles distant. A discharge of musketry from the French at a division of the British troops, which was exercising at some distance from the fort, first alarmed the garrison. Those who were in quarters, immediately hurried to the fort, and so loaded the draw-bridge, that it could not be raised until the French arrived and entered with them. With the island, the French became possessed of about two millions of livres; the late sales of prizes. Sixty-eight pieces of artillery also fell into their hands; and six hundred and seventy-seven men were taken prisoners. The islands of St. Martins and Saba soon after, also fell into the hands of the French.

On the thirty-first of December, Henry Laurens was released from his long confinement in the Tower of London. He had been committed there on the sixth of October, 1780, after his capture by the Vestal frigate, as already related. The charge against him was "suspicion of high treason." The orders to the lieutenant of the Tower, were very strict. He was to be kept in close confinement, prohibited the use of pen and ink, and no letter was to be suffered, either to be sent from him, or brought to him. Mr. Laurens was then fifty-five years old, and severely afflicted with the gout, and other infirmities. In this situation, he was conducted to apartments in the Tower, and was shut up in two small rooms, which together made about twenty feet square, with a warder for his constant companion, and a fixed bayonet under his window, without any friend to converse with, and without any prospect, or even the means of correspondence. After remaining for a month in this condition, he was permitted to walk out on limited ground; but a warder with a sword in his hand, followed close behind him. A few weeks after, he was accidentally met by Lord George Gordon, who was at that time, a prisoner in the Tower. The latter unluckily asked Mr. Laurens to walk with him; but he declined the offer, and instantly returned to his apartment. This involuntary trespass of orders was caught at by Gore, the keeper; and though the attending warder excused him from all blame, Gore locked him up for thirty-seven days. At the end of that time, the keeper relented so far, as to permit his prisoner to walk on the parade be-

fore the door; but this favor, as coming from him, Laurens refused. General Vernon, on hearing of what had passed, gave orders that Mr. Laurens should be permitted to walk out; and this exercise, was in consequence thereof, resumed, after an intermission of two months and an half.

When President of Congress, Britain had attempted to purchase the services of Mr. Laurens: and, at this juncture, the plan was renewed with menaces of additional severity, in case of refusal. Laurens treated the offer with contempt; and his youngest son was refused permission to see him. He was even denied leave to draw a bill upon a person in London, who was indebted to him. About this time, his eldest son arrived at Paris, as the special minister of Congress. The father was requested to write to the son to withdraw himself from the Court of France; and assurances were given that it would operate in his favor. To this, he shortly answered, that his son was of age, and had a will of his own.

Towards the close of the year 1781, the sufferings of Mr. Laurens in the Tower, became generally known; and excited compassion in his favour, and odium against the authors of his confinement. It had been also found, that no concessions could be obtained from him. It was therefore resolved to release him. He was freely discharged, though General Burgoyne had formerly been offered, by Congress, in exchange for him.

The loss of the army under the command of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, closed the scene of the continental war in North America. So brilliant an event, as the capture of a whole army, after so many losses, to which the arms of Congress had been subjected for several years, could not fail to give them the most heartfelt satisfaction; and was accordingly celebrated with suitable rejoicings, and every other demonstration that could serve to convey to the people a proper idea of its importance. The authority of Congress, which had begun to be shaken, was again established; the desponding were re-assured, and all classes reconciled to bear their distresses with patience; in the hope, that so signal an advantage, would speedily effect the long wished for peace.

EIGHTH CAMPAIGN, 1782.

GENERAL Washington, after the capture of the British army at Yorktown, returned with the greatest part of his force to the vicinity of New-York. The British troops kept within their lines, and the Americans were in no condition to attempt the reduction of that post. Some trifling skirmishes and predatory excursions happened, and the communication between town and country became interrupted.

The operations in South-Carolina, were as unimportant as those in the northern parts. General Greene, since December, 1781, had possession of all the state, except Charleston and the vicinity. The British contented themselves with falling out of their lines, not for the purpose of conquest, but for the acquisition of property and provisions. In Georgia, the British, at the commencement of this year, occupied more extensive ground than in any other part of the United States. But of these advantages they soon were deprived. After the capture of Cornwallis, General Greene being reinforced by the Pennsylvania line, was now in a condition to detach General Wayne with a part of the southern army to Georgia. General Clarke, who commanded in Savannah, on hearing of their advance, sent orders to his outposts to burn as far as they could, all the provision in the country, and then to retire within the lines of the capital. A few days after, Colonel Brown, at the head of a considerable force, marched out of the garrison of Savannah, with the design of attacking the Americans. General Wayne, by a dextrous manœuvre, got in his rear, attacked him at twelve o'clock at night, and routed his whole party. A large number of Creek Indians, headed by a number of their chiefs and a British officer, made a bold attack on Wayne's infantry in the night. They possessed themselves of his field-pieces; but they soon were recovered. In the meantime, Colonel White, with a party of horse, came up, and completely dispersed the Indians. In this action, and some trifling skirmishes, the last blood was spilled in this memorable contest.

During this campaign, the United States afforded few great events; but the reverse was the case with the other

powers involved in the consequences of the American war, France and Spain had agreed to renew their attempt this year against the island of Jamaica. To frustrate their design, Sir George Rodney, who had gone to England in the fall of the preceding year, was dispatched, to resume his command in the West-Indies, with a reinforcement of twelve ships of the line. He arrived at Barbadoes on the nineteenth of February; and soon after formed a junction with the fleet under the command of Sir Samuel Hood. Sir George Rodney then proceeded with the whole to St. Lucie; the most convenient station for watching the motions of the French fleet under the command of de Grasse; who, after the surrender of Earl Cornwallis at Yorktown, had returned to Martinique. The safety of Jamaica depended now upon an action between the British and French fleets, before the latter could form a junction with the Spanish fleet then to leeward. The British commander, having received intelligence of the embarkation of French troops on board their ships, and of their fleet being perceived coming out of Fort Royal Bay, on the fifth of April, threw out the signal for weighing anchor; and the British fleet consisting of thirty-six ships of the line, proceeded with a press of sail in pursuit of the French. The next morning, the latter was discovered under Dominique; and in this situation, both fleets were for some time becalmed. The French gaining the breeze first, stood towards Guadeloupe. The van of the British fleet, under Sir Samuel Hood, got the breeze next, and stood after them. The centre and rear being still becalmed, offered an opportunity to the Count de Grasse of overpowering the British van. He bore down upon it with his whole force. Every ship of Hood's division had a superior force to contend with; but so nobly did they support each other, that no advantage could be obtained over them. At length, part of the centre of the British fleet got near enough to engage, and take part in the action; and as soon as the breeze reached their rear, de Grasse withdrew his ships from action. The British fleet lay too the night after the action, to repair their damages; and the next morning made sail in pursuit of de Grasse. About noon of the eleventh, one of the French ships was seen a great way to windward, repairing her damages. A general chase took place; but towards evening, Count de Grasse perceiving the danger of that ship, bore down with his whole fleet for

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her protection. This movement brought the two fleets so near, that nothing but the approach of night prevented an immediate engagement. When day-light appeared, the signal for close action was thrown out by the British Admiral. The two fleets met in opposite tacks, and there being little wind, the British ships ranged slowly along, and close under the lee of the French line, delivering and continuing a tremendous fire, which the French received and returned with the utmost bravery. There was no apparent superiority on either side till about noon; when Admiral Rodney bore down upon the centre of the French fleet. He, in the *Formidable*, passed the *Ville de Paris*, the *Count de Grasse's* ship, and her second, so close as to be almost in contact; keeping up a tremendous fire, whilst the rest came up in succession. The *Formidable* wearing round, and a signal being made for the van division, under Admiral Drake, to attack, the British fleet gained the wind, and effectually broke and separated the French line. The land forces destined for the expedition against Jamaica, amounting to upwards of five thousand men, being distributed on board the French fleet, the carnage among them was the more prodigious: Still, however, they continued to fight with surprising bravery. The *Count de Grasse*, with his own and the other ships in the centre, withstood till evening, all the efforts of the various ships that attacked them. Towards sun-set, Sir Samuel Hood, in the *Barfleur*, reaching the *Ville de Paris*, poured in a destructive fire; which de Grasse bore for ten minutes, when he struck his flag, and surrendered.

The French for near a century, had not in any naval engagement, been so completely worsted. Their fleet was little less than ruined. On board the *Ville de Paris*, the British found thirty-six chests of money, destined for the pay and subsistence of the troops in the designed attack on Jamaica. The whole train of artillery, with the battering cannon and travelling carriages, meant for that expedition, were also on board the ships that were taken. When the *Count de Grasse* struck his flag, it is said, only three men were left alive and unhurt upon the upper deck, of whom de Grasse was one. The *Hector*, the *Ardent*, the *Cæsar*, and the *Glorieux*, all line of battle ships, had also surrendered; but not till they were reduced to mere wrecks, and the

Diadem, a seventy-four, was sunk. The Ville de Paris, of one hundred and ten guns, was the largest and most magnificent ship in the French navy : She was a present from the city of Paris to Louis XVth ; and her building and fitting for sea, are said to have cost four millions of livres. The Cæsar, one of the ships that had surrendered, blew up by accident, in the night of the engagement ; whereby about four hundred and fifty men perished.

The number of the killed and wounded on board the French fleet, exceeded three thousand ; and the British lost about eleven hundred men. The French ships that escaped, made off to leeward in the best manner they could. Some ran down to Curaçoa ; but the greater part kept together, and directed their course for Cape François. On the morning succeeding the action, Admiral Rodney attempted to pursue, but was becalmed for three days under Guadaloupe. Sir Samuel Hood, who with his division was dispatched to the west end of Hispaniola, in the Mona passage, got sight of five French ships ; two of the line, and three frigates ; all of which he took, except one frigate, that made use of a sudden shift of the wind, and escaped. Thus the French lost by this action eight ships of the line and two frigates.

By this signal victory, the expedition against Jamaica was entirely frustrated ; and if the catastrophe of Yorktown, closed the national war in North America, this sea engagement may be said to have terminated the war in the West-Indies.

In the preceding year, a joint expedition had been planned by France and Spain against the island of Minorca. An armament, under the command of the Duke de Crillon, was landed upon the island, in the middle of August. The Duke carried with him one hundred and nine pieces of the heaviest cannon, and thirty-six mortars, for the siege of Fort St. Philips ; and the combined French and Spanish troops amounted to about sixteen thousand men. The garrison, under the command of General Murray, consisted of about two thousand seven hundred men ; but the works of St. Philip's Castle were so numerous and extensive, that the garrison did not amount to half the number necessary to man them completely. However, the siege lasted till the beginning of February ; when General Murray, at last, became reduced to the necessity of capitulating. The terms having

been settled, St. Philip's Castle was surrendered on the fifth of February; whereby the island of Minorca was restored to the crown of Spain, after it had been in the possession of Great-Britain about seventy-four years.

The intelligence of the fate of the British army at Yorktown, and the loss of Minorca, had naturally depressed the spirits of the great body of the people of England. But the news of Admiral Rodney's victory, revived their spirits, and diffused a general joy over the nation. And whilst triumphant in the west, the British arms and navies were victorious in the east. Hyder Ally was beaten in the Carnatic, by Sir Eyre Coote; and the French fleet under the command of M. de Suffrein, was defeated in four hard-fought actions by Sir Edward Hughes.

In the mean time, the siege of Gibraltar, and the enormous preparations of the Spaniards for the reduction of that place, had attracted the attention of all Europe. The Duke de Crillon, after the conquest of Minorca, was appointed to conduct the siege of Gibraltar; and no means were neglected, nor expence spared, that promised to forward the views of the besiegers. Towards the close of the preceding year, their advanced works upon the Isthmus, after being completed, were demolished in one night by a successful sortie from the garrison. After this misfortune, it was resolved to adopt new plans; one of which was formed by the Chevalier D'Arcon, and deemed the most worthy of trial. This was to construct floating batteries of such thickness and strength, as to be impenetrable by shot from the heaviest cannon. From shells, they were to be protected by a sloping roof, which, by means of a mechanical contrivance, might be raised or lowered at pleasure. To prevent the effects of red-hot balls, a number of pipes were to be contrived to carry water through every part of them, and pumps were to be provided to keep these constantly supplied with water. No expence was spared to complete the machines according to this plan. Their floating batteries, ten in number, were made out of the hulls of large vessels, cut down for the purpose, and carried from eight and twenty to ten guns each, and were seconded by eighty large boats mounted with guns of heavy metal, and also by a multitude of frigates, ships of force, and some hundreds of small craft. The army that had returned from Minorca, was reinforced by twelve thousand auxiliary French.

troops ; and the Count d'Artois, and the Duke de Bourbon, with a number of the first nobility, both of France and Spain, repaired to the Spanish camp. The combined French and Spanish fleets arrived in the bay in September ; about which time, the battering machines were in readiness. The fleets, after being joined by the ships already at Algeiras, consisted of forty-eight ships of the line. It was proposed, that when the battering ships should take their station, the Spanish gun and mortar boats should place themselves so as to flank the British batteries on the water. The combined fleet was to cover and assist the battering ships, and a furious cannonade was to commence from all the batteries on the isthmus. From the Spanish ports, a number of large boats had been collected to carry over the bay troops to the fortrels, as soon as the battering ships should produce their expected effect.

On the thirteenth of September, about nine in the morning, the battering ships anchored in a regular line, between the Old and New Mole, at moderate distances from each other, and about half a mile from the British works. They immediately began a furious cannonade, which was followed from all the combined artillery upon the isthmus, and returned by the garrison under the command of Gen. Elliot, with showers of shells and red hot balls, towards every quarter from whence the attacks were made. The numbers employed by land and sea in this attack amounted to one hundred thousand men, and the surrounding hills were covered with people assembled to behold the dreadful scene. Four hundred pieces of the heaviest artillery were playing at the same moment, and the whole peninsula seemed to be overwhelmed in the torrents of fire. But the attention of the garrison was principally fixed on the battering ships, which for some time answered the expectations of their framers. Neither shot or shells seemed to affect them. In the afternoon, however, the effects of hot shot became visible on some of them, which animated the garrison to fresh exertion. Continued torrents of fire and smoke issued from every quarter of the rock during the night. About one o'clock in the morning the flames burst forth on board two of the largest ships, and several of the others seemed also to be on fire. Boats were now sent off from the shore to their assistance ; but Capt. Curtis, who commanded the British

naval force at Gibraltar, seized this opportunity of completing the destruction of those machines, which had created so much apprehension. He stationed his gun-boats so as to flank the line of the battering ships, and by keeping up a constant fire, to cut them off from that assistance which they had begun to receive from the shore. During the rest of the night, the battering ships remained in this dreadful situation, exposed to a direct fire from the garrison, and a raking fire from the gun-boats, cut off from assistance, and the flames increasing every instant. The opening of day-light disclosed a most dreadful spectacle, and for a time every hostile idea seemed to be extinguished among the British, in compassion for the people who, surrounded by the flames, yet remained on board the battering ships. The bravest exertions were made by Capt. Curtis and the British seamen, at the risque of their own lives, to rescue the Spaniards from inevitable destruction. Nearly four hundred men were saved. The floating batteries were all consumed, and the violence of their explosion was such, as to burst open doors and windows at a great distance. Thus ended the last attempt of the Spaniards for the reduction of Gibraltar. Lord Howe, soon after, with thirty-four ships of the line, and a number of transports, brought to the garrison an ample supply of every thing wanted, either for their support or their defence.

The loss of the British army in Virginia, the signal victory obtained by Sir George Rodney in the West-Indies, and the destruction of the Spanish floating batteries, had a tendency to bring the powers at war more nearly upon a level; each nation found, on a review of past events, that though their losses were great, their gains were little or nothing; and while the belligerent powers were successively brought to think favourably of peace, the United States of America received a public acknowledgment of their independence by a second power of Europe, the States General of the United Provinces.

Negotiations were carried on at Paris for putting an end to the war. Mr. Oswald, a British merchant, and the particular friend of Mr. Laurens, who had been so long confined in the Tower, was appointed by the British Minister to negotiate with the American commissioners; and Mr. Thomas Grenville first, and afterwards Mr. Fitzherbert,

were successively deputed to treat with the Ministers of the other powers.

The negotiation with the American commissioners were first brought to a conclusion : and on the thirtieth of November, provisional articles of peace were signed by Mr. Oswald on the part of Great-Britain, and by Mr. John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, on the part of the United States of America ; which were not to take effect until peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France. By those articles, the Thirteen United States of America were acknowledged to be free, sovereign, and independent ; the limits of their country were ascertained, as far as was practicable, by natural boundaries ; and those limits were extended so far to the westward, as to contain within them an immense extent of territory, partly unsettled, and partly still inhabited by the Indians, the original proprietors. A right was granted to them to fish on the banks and coasts of Newfoundland, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence ; and on the coasts, bays, and creeks, of all the other British dominions in America ; and to cure and dry their fish in many of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands, and Labrador. It was also stipulated that creditors on either side should meet with no lawful impediment in the recovery of their debts : a recommendation was to be made by Congress to the Legislatures of the different States, to restore the confiscated estates and properties of real British subjects ; also of those resident within the British lines in America, who had not borne arms against the United States ; and also of persons of any other description, upon their refunding to the present possessors the price *bona fide* paid by such possessors at the time of purchasing such estates. No future confiscations were to be made, nor any prosecutions commenced, for the part taken by any person during the war, nor any future loss by any one, either in his person, liberty, or property, on that account : It was agreed that prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty, and the British posts within the United States, should be evacuated with all convenient speed : The navigation of the Mississippi to remain free and open to the subjects and citizens of both countries ; and should any place be taken on either side, before the arrival of these articles in America, such place to be restored without compensation.

The preliminary articles of peace with France, upon which those with America were to take effect, were not signed till the twentieth of January 1783. Those with Spain were executed at the same time. The general ground of those articles was the mutual restitution of all places taken on either side during the war, with some few exceptions. France was to retain Tobago and Senegal; Spain, Minorca and West Florida; and Great-Britain to cede East Florida to Spain. The Dutch island of St. Eustatius, and the provinces of Demarara and Islequibo to be restored by France to the United Provinces. A suspension of hostilities between the British and the Dutch was at the same time agreed upon, until terms of peace between the two nations could be finally adjusted.

Thus ended the revolutionary war of America, which came as a surprise upon the world, and will be a lesson to all future ages.

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE OF STRALSUND, IN 1715.

STRALSUND, the chief fortress of Swedish Pomerania, is built between the Baltic and the Cape of Franken, upon the Streights of Gella, and is one of the strongest places in Pomerania. There is no way to it by land, but over a narrow causeway, which is defended by a citadel and entrenchments, which were once thought to be inaccessible. This place is famous for a siege which Charles IXth of Sweden sustained in it against the kings of Denmark and Prussia, with six and thirty thousand men, of which a short account will not perhaps be the least entertaining part of this month's miscellany.

Stralsund, at this time, had a garrison of 9000 men, commanded by Charles in person. The trenches were opened before it, in the night between the nineteenth and twentieth of October, 1715, and the works were carried on with great vigour, though the besiegers owed their success to a very singular accident.

The Baltic Sea is known to have neither flux nor reflux, and the entrenchments which covered Stralsund having this sea on the east, and an impracticable morass on the west, seemed by its situation to be unassailable. The water was al-

ways supposed to be very deep, and it had never been observed that a strong westerly wind drove it back, so as to leave the water under the intrenchments scarcely three feet deep. It happened, that just at this time there was a westerly wind; and, what was more extraordinary, a soldier fell by accident from the works into the water; and to his great and agreeable surprize, found the water just sufficient to break his fall; and that when he had recovered himself, and stood up, it did not reach higher than his middle. He immediately conceived that this discovery, communicated to the besiegers, would make his fortune; he therefore immediately deserted, and told the officer who commanded the works, that the sea was forcible, and that the intrenchments which covered the town were accessible.

The King of Prussia was impatient to avail himself of this intelligence, and the next night (the wind still continuing at West) he dispatched Col. Koppen, with 3800 men, 1800 of which went through the water, and two thousand marched along the causeway. The Prussians, as soon as the two thousand men began to march, fired all their artillery, to give the Swedes the alarm, who were confident that they could easily repulse and destroy those who approached their works so rashly by the causeway. But as soon as their attention was sufficiently fixed upon this object, Koppen, with his 1800 men, suddenly entered the entrenchments from the sea on the other side. This struck the Swedes with consternation, and they soon fell in a disorder, from which it was impossible to recover them.

The post was carried with a great slaughter, and some of the Swedes, who were put to flight, rushing into the town for shelter, many of the Prussians entered *pell mell* with them, and two Saxon officers, and four soldiers, had actually got upon the drawbridge, which the besieged had but just time to draw up. The officers and soldiers that were upon it were taken prisoners, and for this time the city was saved.

In these intrenchments, the besiegers found twenty four pieces of cannon, which they turned against the town, and pushed on the siege with a resolution, confidence, and impetuosity, that almost ensured success. Cannonading and bombarding the place, day and night, with scarce a moment's remission.

Opposite to Stralsund, in the Baltic sea, an arm of which the besiegers had forded when they carried the entrenchments, lies the island of Rugen. This island was of the utmost importance to Stralsund, not only as it serves the place for a rampart, but as the garrison and burghers may retire to it when the town is no longer tenable, if they have boats to carry them. It happened, however, at this time, that they were without boats proper for such a service, and the ill state of the king of Sweden's affairs had prevented his having a sufficient garrison in it, there being no more than 2000 regular troops in the whole island. It was, notwithstanding, absolutely necessary that Charles should keep it in his possession, as he would otherwise be invested both by land and sea, without resources for defence or means of escape.

For these reasons, Rugen had, during more than three months, been the object of the enemy's attention; and having at length built a number of boats sufficient for a descent, the Prince of Anhalt landed 12,000 men upon it, on the fifteenth of November, just four weeks after the trenches had been opened before Stralsund.

Whilst the Prince of Anhalt had been making this descent, Charles had been defending an out-work, from which he at last returned to his house, exhausted with watching and fatigue; and as he came in, he was told the Danes and Prussians were in Rugen. It was eight o'clock at night when he received this news. It was the depth of winter, and had been dark near four hours; but neither cold nor darkness, nor fatigue, could repress Charles's activity. He, without a moment's hesitation or rest, ran to the water side, and threw himself into a little fishing boat, with Poniatosky, Grothusen, During, and Dardorf. About nine o'clock, they landed upon the island, and Charles immediately put himself at the head of his two thousand men, whom he found intrenched near a little haven, about three leagues distant from the place where the enemy had landed. With this handful of men, Charles immediately marched with equal silence and rapidity, and about two in the morning reached the enemy's camp. The Prince of Anhalt had entrenched his 12,000 men with a precaution which his officers, who knew there were but 2000 men to oppose them, thought unnecessary; especially as they thought themselves very sure

that Charles was at Stralsund. The Prince, however, who knew what Charles was capable of attempting, ordered a deep ditch to be sunk with *cheveaux de frize* upon the edge of it, as if he had been opposed by an enemy of superior force.

The king came to the brink of the ditch undiscovered, having marched without speaking a word; but his soldiers now whispered one to the other, "Let us pull up the *cheveaux de frize*." This was overheard by the centinel, and the alarm being instantly given the enemy, was in a moment under arms. The king having, with his own hand, removed one of the *cheveaux de frizes*, saw the ditch that was behind it; upon which he cried out, with more surprise than he was used to express. "Is it possible! This is more than I expected." But this new obstacle, however formidable and unforeseen, neither stopped nor discouraged him; he leaped directly into the ditch, and his men instantly leaped in after him.

The *cheveaux de frize* that had been removed, the earth which crumbled down, such trunks and branches of trees as could be found, and the bodies of the dead, many having been killed by random shot, served the Swedes for steps to climb up the bank of the ditches on the farther side. Charles, who was always impatient to be first mounted on the shoulders of his men, and with some of his principal officers and favourites, who were assisted in the same manner, had scrambled up while the rest were in the ditch. He was, however, soon followed, and the fight began, notwithstanding all these obstacles in the heart of the enemy's camp. The fearless impetuosity of the Swedes instantly threw the Danes and Prussians into confusion; but being so much superior in number, the Swedes were, after a most obstinate, but unequal contest, driven back, and obliged to pass the ditches again. The prince of Anhalt pursued them quite into the plain; little thinking that it was Charles himself, who was retreating before him. Charles, indeed, did not retreat far; he rallied his troops soon after they had got a second time out of the ditch, and continued the fight with great obstinacy. He saw his favorite Grothusen, and General Dardorf, fall just at his side; and he pressed forward upon the enemy, over Dardorf's body, before he was quite dead. The next moment, During, his companion from Turkey to

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Stralsund, fell also dead at his feet ; yet he still pressed forward, fighting among his grenadiers, sword in hand.

In the heat of this contest, a Danish lieutenant who was engaged over against Charles, happening to catch a glance of his face, knew him ; upon which, seizing the king's sword with one hand, and his hair with the other, he cried out "surrender, or you are a dead man." The king had a pistol sticking in his belt, which he instantly drew with his left hand, and discharged at the officer, who quitted his hold, and fell. Charles thus disengaged himself for a moment ; but the officer crying out as he fell, "it is the king," a number of the enemy rushed to the spot, and he was instantly surrounded. He was on foot—but would neither surrender, nor give ground. At length he received a musket shot just under the left breast ; but he still continued fighting, and he must inevitably have been slain or taken prisoner, if Poniatofsky (the only one of the four that landed with him who was now alive, and who had before saved his life at Pultowa) had not come up by mere accident to the same place ; he soon saw what had happened, rushing in with a few desperate fellows, brought the king off ; who upon being applied to concerning his wound, thought fit to call it a bruise—though the ball had buried itself two fingers breadth in his body. The Swedes, soon after this accident, were driven into a part of the island called Altesevra, where they had still a fort ; from which the king was obliged, for want of boats, to return alone to Stralsund, and leave his brave veterans behind ; who were soon after made prisoners of war.

From this time, the fate of Stralsund was inevitable ; yet the king employed himself incessantly in making ditches and intrenchments behind the walls, from morning till night ; and from night till morning he was busied in making sallies upon the enemy. More than half the town, which had been long battered in breach, was by this time reduced to ashes. Yet the inhabitants were so charmed with the wonderful temperance, perseverance and magnanimity of Charles, that so far from repining, they acted as soldiers under him, followed him to the sallies, and were now become as good as another garrison.

In about four days, the enemy made an assault upon the hornwork, which they twice took, and were twice beaten.

off. The king, as usual, was upon the spot, fighting among his grenadiers; who were at length overborne by numbers, and obliged to abandon the work. Charles continued in the town two days after this; and on the twenty-first of November, the sixth night after his retreat from Rugen, he stayed upon the ruins of a little Ravelin, that had been beaten almost to powder by cannon and bombs, till midnight. Here he would probably have continued longer; but the chief officers intreated him not to risk his life any more upon a place it was impossible to defend. It was now indeed as dangerous to retreat as to stay; for the Baltic was covered with Muscovite and Danish ships, and there was no vessel in the port of Stralsund but a small open boat with oars and sails. The extreme danger of attempting to escape seems to have determined Charles not to stay; for on the twenty-second, at night, he went with only ten persons on board this boat, where they sat several hours before the ice could be broken sufficiently for her to get out. When this was effected, they were obliged to pass under a battery of twelve cannon, which the Danes had built at a place called La Barbette in Rugen; this battery fired upon them incessantly as long as they were within its reach. One shot killed two men who stood close by the king, and another shattered the mast of the vessel. Yet it was Charles' good fortune to escape through all these dangers, and come up with two of his ships; one of which took him on board. The next day Stralsund surrendered, and the garrison were made prisoners of war.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ESCAPE OF KING STANISLAUS, FROM
DANTZICK, FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY HIMSELF
IN FRENCH, TO CARDINAL FLEURY.

AS I can easily conceive your uneasiness at my leaving Dantzick, it is but just I acquaint you with the manner of it. The zeal you have shewn for my interest claims this. You will see in it the all powerful hand of God, who can support us when every human assistance fails, and we seem inevitably lost.

I am sensible that it has been thought imprudent in me for continuing in that city, till it was reduced to the last extremity. But when we act from principles of conscience, of honor, and our country's love, may we be allowed to arm ourselves against danger and to prefer the security of our persons to those three principles which constitute the man of honor? For besides that, I expected succors daily; and a hasty retreat would have put me out of condition to receive them. I should, by my leaving Dantzick, have opened the gates of it to the enemy; the magistrates holding out the siege from no other motive than to defend me. Thus laying aside the vanity which a consciousness of resolution and intrepidity might inspire, I was obliged either to continue in the city, in order that the expected succors might have time to arrive, or bury myself in the ruins of it, with those brave citizens, and those dear Polish friends, who, with their wives and children, shared my fate. I persisted in this resolution till the infamous surrender of Wetzchel Munde; the capitulation of which, forced the Dantzickers, with my consent, to provide for their own safety. Upon which occasion, finding they were going to change their sovereign, I thought myself bound in gratitude, not to expose them to the grief of abandoning me, but to dispense with their fidelity by my leaving their city; which, how desperate a resistance soever had been made, could not have held out any longer. Not to mention my being solicited by all the Polish nobility, who made their safety consist in my preservation; so that after the enemy demanded the surrender of my person, as the first article of the capitulation, I resolved to leave Dantzick. 'Twas on this occasion I experienced the zeal of those sincerely attached to my interest by the different projects they formed to facilitate my escape, insomuch that a Lady, confiding in a peasant of that country whom she knew, was so much the heroine as to offer to disguise herself as a peasant and pass for my wife.

Another expedient was proposed to me: and this was, to put myself at the head of an hundred intrepid men, and force a way through the enemy. But I judged it impracticable, because of the inundation, which extended three leagues one way, and of the lines of circumvalation on the other, which it would be impossible to pass on horseback. The method I concluded the safest, was that which the

A—r proposed ; and accordingly I went to his house on the evening of the twenty-seventh of June, being Sunday, upon pretence of spending a quiet night there, out of danger of the bombs which began to fall in that part where I had resided.

At ten o'clock, having disguised myself as a peasant, with only a coarse shirt on, and accompanied by General Sreenfieth, I left the A—r's house, to go and meet an officer who waited for me on the rampart ; where being arrived, we crossed the ditch in two little boats ; the officer leaving us behind, rode forward to secure a post held by a subaltern officer and a few soldiers. Immediately a quarrel arose, and in a moment I saw the subaltern officer present his piece to the other, refusing to let either himself or his company pass. His over great vigilance obliged the officer to tell him that it was I ; but the subaltern officer suspecting his veracity, came to the boat, look'd me in the face, and knowing me, made me a very low bow, and wished me a good journey. I was now assured my escape would be no longer a secret ; and consequently that my safety was very precarious. After taking leave of the officer, we rowed through the inundations, in hopes of reaching the Vistula, to cross it the same night, and to arrive by day-break beyond such posts of the enemy as lay nearest to the city. But how great was my surprise to see the peasants, after they had rowed about a quarter of a league, carry us to a poor hut, which stood in the middle of the waters, and tell us that we must pass all that night, and the next day in it ; the night being already too far advanced for us to get to the Vistula before day-break ! We were forced to obey, and accordingly landed ; but with heavy hearts, because of the little progress made and evident hazard run.

We went into the hut ; and as the sight of it made me have no great inclination to sleep, there not being so much as a corner for me to rest myself, I took this opportunity to get acquainted with my illustrious company, which consisted of four persons. The first was our chief guide, who appeared to me, the moment I saw him, (and I was not mistaken in my conjectures) a very silly fellow. He assumed an air of authority, and claiming obedience to his orders, would not suffer any one to debate or argue. I should willingly have submitted to his subordination, had I not perceived that our

commander (though he was wholly unacquainted with such posts of the enemy as it was necessary for us to avoid, fired by no other motive than the large reward the A—r had promised him) was determined to conduct us at random. The second, whose name and profession I enquired, had been a merchant, but had failed. He spoke the Polish tongue, and appeared a person of merit. The other two were Schriaphans;* and seemed by their air and manner, complete villains. I spent the rest of the night on a bench, leaning upon the merchant, with whom I made myself most familiar, by means of the Polish tongue.

Next morning I left the hut, in order to take a view of the city, which was bombarding. When I reflected on its unhappy fate, and that all the good—faithful friends—I left in it, would soon be obliged, against their wills, to declare themselves my enemies, I could not possibly have felt greater tortures, had my bowels been torn away: But, afterwards, reflecting on myself, not knowing whither to go, nor what to do, although I was so hardened by misfortune, I yet should have sunk under them, had it not been for the immediate assistance of the Almighty. Whilst I was revolving these things, I heard the enemy fire from all their batteries, and from their fleet, accompanied with a general discharge of their small arms: I concluded that this was by way of rejoicing for the taking of Munde, which gave me no little disquiet; and indeed, I was in such deep affliction, that General Steenflieth was obliged to pull me by the sleeve, and awake me as out of a deep sleep, in order to make me partake of a poor soup he had dressed. A little after, a Schriaphan landed from his little boat, saying, that his captain had sent him with a short letter and two little pieces of dried tongue for General Steenflieth. The letter was sent to wish him a good journey, but we could never discover who it came from, nor by what means the Schriaphan found us out. I drew a mournful consequence from hence, as it shewed that our departure from Dantzick was no longer a secret, to which I added the slow progress we made: But heaven was pleased to order it so, to keep us from confiding in human measures, and oblige us to rely on his Holy Providence only, by which he conducted us. I was very impatient all

* *Peasants who ramble about in parties and rob passengers.*

the remainder of that day, till night came, in the beginning of which we embarked, rowing perpetually through reeds and impracticable places; being obliged every moment, where there was no depth of water, to draw the boat over marshes, into the ditches, where there was some. At midnight we arrived, as we thought, near the banks of the Vistula, where our conductors obliged us to land; and these, after holding council together, without communicating the particulars of it to us, ordered General Steenslieth to walk on foot along the bank, with our chief conductor and the bankrupt merchant, who spoke Polish; after which the two Schriaphans went again into the boat with me, assuring me that we should meet with our companions at about a league distance from that place.

I was no way pleased with this separation, fearing that I should not meet Steenslieth again. I supposed, that being now arrived at the Vistula, we were to cross it at this place; but I was mistaken; it was the farthest side of the Nering, whence there would have been no possibility of our getting away.

After we had rowed on very painfully during two hours, I enquiring after our comrades, was answered that they were before, and we should soon be up with them. As day began to peep, and all the houses thereabouts were frequented by Muscovites or Cossacks, it would not be possible for us to reach before the gloom was dispelled, the place where we were to cross the Vistula; we therefore were forced to stop once more at a house belonging to a peasant, with whom my conductors were acquainted. As we were going in, the peasant was ask'd whether any Muscovites lodg'd in his house, he answered there did not, but said that several came to it in the day time; notwithstanding this we were forced to stay with him; a moment after which my two Schriaphans took me in the garret, threw on me a bundle of straw, and bid me lie still, saying, that they, in the mean time, would lie upon the watch, and go in quest of my companions. After being kept awake two nights, I wanted a little sleep; but that was impossible; and finding my bed very hard, I rose up, and look'd through a little window, whence I saw, about twenty paces from me, two Muscovites, looking after their horses, in the meadow. An officer was walking up and down thereabouts, and six Cossacks passed within a half

dozen paces of me. This unpleasing sight obliged me to retire immediately to my bundle of straw, to reflect on the means how to extricate myself from this blockade, not knowing that it was still closer than I imagined; for there were five Cossacks at breakfast in the house. Upon receiving notice from my landlady who they were, I did not stir once during the two hours they staid there, but overheard from my garret all their discourse, which related to the siege of Dantzick. After they were gone, the landlady having probably reflected, by the apartment I had been thrust into, that there was some mystery in all this, came and asked me whence I came, and who I was; saying, she knew very well, by the German I spoke, that I was not of that country, and saw by my face that I was not a peasant. I made her believe whatever she pleased; but it was much worse when she told me that her house was in danger, and that the Muscovites would burn her alive, in case they found me in it. I trembled at these words, being afraid she would turn me out of doors, but used all the arguments possible to remove her fears, and desired her not to disturb me.

On the 29th, being quite alone in this garret, separated from General Steenflieth, I suffered a very cruel kind of torment, which is the being incapable to act when we are endued with the greatest activity, and the being obliged to wait motionless, in expectation of the most dismal accidents. This state of inactivity suggested the most gloomy reflections, in the midst of which I made two that gave me real consolation: First, that God had deprived me of General Steenflieth, the only man who could assist me, purposely that I might confide in him alone; and secondly, that it was visible a Divine Providence superintends all things. You are to know, that at my leaving Dantzick, the A—r had given us two hundred ducats, one hundred to Steenflieth, and one hundred to me. The moment we set out, as I am not used to carry money about me, and finding it heavy, I resolved to ease myself of it instantly, and give it Steenflieth to keep. However, notwithstanding the great inclination I had to do this, I yet (but how I cannot tell) delayed giving it him; and after we were separated, I considered the dreadful condition I should have been in, had I been without a penny about me; which circumstance revived me, and made me firmly believe that I was under the immediate protection of

Heaven. Quite tired with my situation in the garret, I came down, in order to get some intelligence from my guides: These told me that they knew General Steenslieth was not above a league off, and would come up with us that very night, at the crossing of the Vistula; and that the boat was quite ready to carry us over; but that, as the wind blew very hard, they did not know whether it would be safe for us to cross, it being but a very small vedelin. I told them, that we had no time for debating; and that, as we could not run a greater hazard than in staying where we were, it was absolutely necessary for us to set out at all adventures.

This resolution being taken, the moment it began to grow dark we stepped into the boat, and a quarter of a league farther, left it at the extremity of the floods. We then wanted a large league to the Vistula; it being a marsh, we walked the day up to the knees in mud. Having got to the bank, one of the Schriaphans bid me stay there with his comrade, saying, that he, in the mean time, would go a quarter of a league farther, and see whether the boat was at the place he had appointed. There we waited full an hour, when he at last returned, to tell us that he had not found the boat, and that the Muscovites must have carried it off. What could we do? Only return from whence we came. Accordingly we walked another league back, and at last got to a house, the landlord of which appeared a rational, active, and resolute man. He engaged to procure me a passage over the Vistula, and was as good as his word; and, hiding me in his garret, he went to look for a boat, and to enquire whether it would be safe for us to cross over.

On the 30th (not being able to sleep) as I was standing at my garret window, I had the pleasure to see our chief guide, who had wandered with General Steenslieth, come into the house. Immediately I enquired after the General, and was answered, that he went the night before to the rendezvous at the passage of the Vistula, where the Cossacks met them on the bank; that he himself had taken to his heels; but as for General Steenslieth, he did not know what was become of him; whence I concluded I had quite lost him. Nevertheless, I behaved with courage under this new disappointment, when I reflected, that since I was thus abandoned, it would be absolutely necessary for me to rouse up all my faculties, and not suffer myself to be overpowered by a affliction,

how grievous soever it might be. As I was thus labouring with those inward struggles, my landlord came about five in the evening, and said, that he indeed had met with the boat of a fisherman, at whose house two Muscovites lodged; but that there was no getting thither because of the great number of Cossacks who were dispersed up and down, either to look after their horses that were grazing in the meadow, or in search of me, my retiring from Dantzick being no longer a secret, and that they seized all such peasants as were about my age and stature.

At this news, I concluded that it would now be impossible for me ever to escape. I then held a council with the peasants, the result of which was, that we should continue that night, and all the next day, in the same place; which we did accordingly.

On the 1st of July, I again summoned our council to enquire whether there was no other passage where we might cross with safety. I am to inform you, that our consultations were regulated by a great bottle of brandy, which the A—r had caused to be put up in a hamper that served as a bottle-case, with a bottle of Hungarian wine, to which I may justly affirm I owed my subsistence during the seven days of my vagrant life. To return to the brandy: It was necessary to proportion the quantity of it: for when my peasants took but a sup, they would be faint hearted, and declare they could not see how it would be possible for us to go forward; and that they were afraid of being taken and hanged; but when they drank more, they would have conducted me through the enemy's camp. By this means I was ever fluctuating between two very dubious extremes; add to this, that I spoke so little German, that I could scarce explain myself, or understand their jargon.

About six in the evening, the landlord of the house came with an air of joy, and assured me that all the Cossacks, who had been in the neighbourhood all the night before, were gone; that the passage was opened, and that the boat waited for me on the shore of the Vistula, at a league distance from the place where we then were. I waited very impatiently for the dusk, which being come, I mounted a horse, and set out with my landlord, who got upon another. The order of our march was thus: The landlord was to ride

before; I was to follow him, at fifty paces distance; and the three peasants were to walk on foot, and form the rear guard. In this manner we passed through dreadful sloughs, in which my horse, who could scarce stand upon his legs, fell upon his nose every step he took. We could perceive the enemy's fires every where round us; and were forced to pass, upon account of the ditches, very near the village of Heysmark, where there was a very considerable post. 'Twas here the enemy embarked their artillery and ammunition.

Having rode happily half a league, without meeting with a single person, my landlord desired me to halt there, saying, that he in the mean time would go once more, and see whether the passage was open, the place being most difficult of access. I had not waited long before he returned in the utmost surprize, and told us, all the neighbourhood was full of other Cossacks; that he had been examined, but had got clear, by declaring, that as he was carrying provisions to the army, he had lost his horses in the meadows, and was then looking for them. At this news, all my companions were in the utmost consternation, and declared, unanimously, that we must return to the place from whence we came. As we should have run a manifest hazard in so doing, I assured them I never would agree to it, and that all we had to do was to arm ourselves with great clubs, and knock down the Cossacks, in case we were superior in number, and could overpower them; or otherwise, to use the same expedient in which our landlord had succeeded, viz.—to say we were looking for our horses, which were strayed in the meadows. However, this proposal was not relished: Upon which my landlord bade us halt, saying, he would go once more upon the look-out, and see whether he could not find a passage, either to the right or left.

Whilst this was doing (we all lying upon our bellies) my three miscreant peasants were going to abandon me, declaring, continually, that they would not be hang'd. Hearing this, the only favour I requested was, that they would stay till my landlord came back. Accordingly I prevailed with them, and the landlord returned soon after, to tell us that the Cossacks were gone, and that the passage was open that instant. Immediately I mounted my horse, and my three peasants followed me at a great distance, firmly resolved to

run away in case any unlucky thing befel me or my landlord. We walked for half a league, till we came to the bank, when we saw coming towards us a little Muscovite waggon, with three men in it. Upon which we run behind a tree, and stood there unperceived. We left our horses at a hundred paces from hence, and walked on foot a quarter of a league, my landlord making me lie down among the flags on the shore of the Vistula, went in quest of the boat. However, he did not leave me long in this posture; and I soon saw him return with the boat, at the very time my three peasants came up with us. We then embarked, and by the manifest assistance of God, reached the other side of the Vistula.

We arrived on Friday the 2d of July, at day-break, at a large village. I immediately asked for horses, in order to proceed on my journey; but this was not possible: My peasants, who now thought themselves out of danger, went into a house, laid down, in spite of all the arguments I could use, and fell into a deep sleep. I was forced to let them sleep on, and walk about the house as sentinel: But, grown quite weary of this post, I returned into the room; when, waking very gently, and with the utmost caution, one of my peasants, I entreated him, in the softest words, to go and hire horses for us. Accordingly, he rose, went out; and returned in about two hours; but—so drunk—that he could scarce stand upon his legs, bringing with him a man, who offered to hire us two horses and a calash; but upon conditions that we should leave the value of them with one of the townsmen, to prevent their losing any thing by us, in case we should be plundered by the Cossacks. As it was not our business to haggle, and we wanted to be gone, I made short work of it, by purchasing the equipage, for the price demanded, viz. twenty-five ducats. While this was doing, a croud got round us, before whom my drunken peasant began to expatiate on his great merit, saying, that he would not be bubbled, but would know what reward was to be given him, he having ventured his neck to conduct me. Upon this, our chief guide, fired with a spirit of generosity, began to squabble with him, saying, that he was a rascal; that this was not a time to debate on these matters; and that he had exerted himself as much as any body, and yet had not

made any demand. This quarrel, which rose to a great height, proved to the crowd, that I was a person of consequence; insomuch, that every one began to distinguish me from my companions. I reconciled matters as well as I could, and would very willingly have left my drunken peasant, (who now was of no use to me) had I not been afraid that, intoxicated as he was, he would have quite discovered me. I therefore was obliged to pack him up in the calash, and support, or rather carry him, on my back, to keep him from breaking his neck. My chief guide rode before, to conduct the calash, and I left the third, whom I believed had most sense, with orders to go and acquaint the A—r of my having happily crossed the Vistula. At last we set out, about noon, without daring to ask the way, to prevent, in case of a pursuit, any one from giving the least intelligence about me. I myself steered our course by the map, being well acquainted with the situation of that country; and as we were to pass the Nogat, I always went towards the point where it separates from the Vistula, leaving Marienburgh to the left, it being garrisoned by the enemy. I went by upwards of twenty villages, possessed either by Saxons or Muscovites, without any one's taking the least notice of me.

After travelling very hard during four hours, our horses were quite tired; the weather also was very sultry: so that it was necessary for us to refresh them: But with what safety could we stop,—the whole country being full of enemies? Providence, however, furnished us with an opportunity, we espying, at a hundred paces from the road, a lone house: We found no soul in it, and so we left it, and arrived, at eight in the evening, at a public house on the shore of the Vistula, where was an old boat. My peasants fancied we were got to the Nogat, and so were resolved to cross it in this crazy vessel. But I happening very fortunately to enquire of a passenger, whether this was the Nogat, he answered, it was not, but that I was not above a league and a half from it, and that this was the Vistula.

Had it not been for this information, we should have crossed the Vistula, and so had been undone; therefore told the landlord that we were butchers belonging to Marienburgh, and intended to cross the Nogat to buy cattle. He told us that this would be impossible, all the boats, to the very smallest, having been taken away, and carried to Mari-

enburgh, upon account of the Polish troops that were roaming in parties up and down the country, on the other side of the Nogat. Hearing this, I could not see a possibility of my escaping; and we were forced to spend the night in the barn, our horses being quite tired. Just as the day began to break, my peasants came to this resolution: that we must go over the bridge to Marienburgh, and that they could not think of any other method. I observed to them (but to no purpose) that there was a garrison in this city, and that we should certainly be seized by it. They were deaf to my arguments, and even threatened to leave me, in case I did not comply. However, I prevailed so far, that we should proceed to the shore of the Nogat; and that in case we had not an opportunity of crossing it, we then should go by Marienburgh. Accordingly we went all along the bank, thro' the woods and most execrable ways, till we arrived at a little village. I said that it would be proper for us to stop; but my two peasants, who were always for domineering, refused; declaring it was to no purpose, and even dangerous for us to make any enquiry; since they were sure that we could not pass the river any where but at Marienburgh. Nevertheless, I was at last so far master, that one of my peasants went into the house to make some enquiry; but, very luckily for me, the inhabitants could not speak any tongue but the Polish, as he came and informed me, adding, that he could not make them understand him.

Upon this I alighted from the calash, with design to speak to them; but this my peasants opposed, they being afraid that my speech would betray me. After disputing some time, they came from the calash, and told me, plainly, that they would leave me,—being determined to save their necks. I willingly consented, being no longer able to bear with their insolence and stupidity. I then went into the house, and told the landlady, very cautiously, that I wanted to cross the Nogat, in order to go and buy cattle: but she told me that there was not one boat upon the river; and that she herself had a few cattle to dispose of. I answered, that I would also purchase some of her at my return; but that I should think myself obliged to her, if she could find means for me to cross the river. The good woman replied—"I see you are an honest man; so will let my son conduct you. A quarter of a league from hence is a friend of ours, a fish-

erman, who lives on the other side of the water, and keeps a little vedelin in his house : Upon my son's making a signal to him, he will come to this side and take you in his boat." I thank'd the good woman, and step'd into the calash, with her son. My rascally peasants, who were still there, observing me not to be so much dejected as before, and that I had a guide, suspected I had now got what I wanted, so came up to me with a design of getting in the calash ; and this not being a proper season for reproaches, I did not say a word to them. I therefore set out, and after riding a quarter of a league, came to the bank of the Nogat, where indeed the landlady's son, at his first signal, made his friend the fisherman come out of his hut, and drag his little vedelin into the river after him. The moment he was come over to us, I step't into his vedelin with one of my peasants, and left the other with our equipage, it not being possible for us to convey it across the river, and ordered him to wait there till his comrade, whom I intended to send back the same day, was returned to him.

In this manner—praise be to Almighty God—I crossed the Nogat, and (very luckily for me) found, in the little village called Biabagora, situated on the river side, a small waggon and two horses, which brought me happily to Marienwerder, on Saturday the 3d of July, after having sent away my peasant, with a short letter to the A—r. Finding myself alone in the public house, I took a little rest, after sustaining incredible bodily fatigues, without being able to give any ease to my mind, which was in great agitation, on account of my uncertainty what course to take.

I can justly affirm, that the satisfaction which my escape affords me is not capable of soothing my affliction, as I no longer enjoy the sincere friends whom I lost, and that after the most cruel manner, in Dantzick. I don't pity them as prisoners of war, for that is the fate of men of honour : But what compassion do they not merit, should they be reduced to the condition of slaves, at the expence of their conscience and liberty.

The next day after my arrival at Marienwerder, I was so fortunate as to meet again with my faithful companion, Gen. Steenflieth, which is a great consolation to me.

MEMOIRS OF

GEN. KOSCIUSKO.

THADDEE KOSCIUSKO is about forty years of age, of middling stature, and of a penetrating aspect. He was born a gentleman : but his family not being in affluent circumstances, he was sent to the school of cadets, to be educated for the army. From this school it has been usual for the kings of Poland to send annually four of its youths into foreign countries, to perfect themselves in military tactics, and the art of war. Kosciusko had the good fortune to be one of these selected youths. He was patronised by the king, and sent into France with the best recommendations, where he studied upwards of four years in the military academy of Versailles, and returned to Poland with the reputation of being a very skilful engineer. Soon after this he was appointed to the command of a company of artillery in the regiment of the crown, and was looked up to as a man of courage and eminence in his profession.

About this time it was that he captivated the affections of a young lady of the first family and fortune in Poland. The lovers had contrived many private interviews, before the parents of the lady had an opportunity of discovering their connection : in all of which Kosciusko conducted himself by the rigid rules of honor and virtue. He therefore conceived himself warranted in making an open declaration of their mutual regard, and in soliciting the consent of the lady's friends for an immediate celebration of their nuptials. But being a leading family among the nobles, an alliance with Kosciusko was deemed inconsistent and degrading : hence a peremptory refusal was experienced, and an insuperable bar put to the fond hopes of the anxious lovers. Kosciusko, however, after finding it impossible to gain the consent of her parents, had the address to carry off the lady, and was rapidly pursuing his route to France, when the unfortunate circumstance of their carriage breaking down, and no possibility of having it replaced or repaired with requisite speed, gave the enraged father, and a strong party of rela-

tives, an opportunity of coming up with them. Here a very fierce rencounter ensued, in which Kosciusko was eventually reduced to the unpleasant dilemma of being obliged either to kill the father, or give up the daughter. Humanity prevailed even over the force of affection. He returned his sword peaceably to the scabbard, and nobly restored the fair prize to his pursuers, rather than spill the blood of him who gave her being.

The public conversation, in all the upper circles, turning on this event, and the feelings of Kosciusko being considerably hurt, he obtained leave of absence from his sovereign, and went to America. At that period the late war with England was carrying on with full vigor. Kosciusko offered himself a volunteer to General Washington, and was honored with an important command in his army. After the peace he returned with the marquis de la Fayette to France, where the French officers who had served in that campaign, and Dr. Franklin, always spoke of him as a man of equal magnanimity, fortitude, and courage, and to whom America was greatly indebted for his services.

Kosciusko having thus acquired reputation abroad, returned, with the laurels, to his native country, where he afterwards distinguished himself in three battles which prince Poniatowski fought with the Russians, at the time of the diet of Targowicz; and it is said, that if the counsels of Kosciusko had been followed in that short war, affairs would have taken a better turn. When, therefore Stanislaus found himself obliged to cease hostilities, Kosciusko, despising an inactive life, again procured leave to enter into foreign service. He went to Pisa in the month of December, 1793, where he professed himself going to Geneva; but, in fact, he went to Paris. He was there introduced to many of the leading members of the Convention, whose policy induced them to present him with ten millions of livres to stir up an insurrection in Poland, in order to draw off the Prussian army from acting with the allies, and to confine the attention of Frederick-William to a different part of the continent.

It is evident that Kosciusko made the best use both of his time and money. Early in February he found himself at the head of a considerable body of the Polish insurgents, and boldly attacked the Prussians who had taken possession of their country. These they drove before them from one part

to another, until they came to Inowlotz where the Prussians contrived to retard the march of Kosciusko for about half an hour, by breaking down part of the wooden bridge; till at last a party of the Polanders swam across the river, and coming upon the rear of the enemy put them to flight. They then attacked the Russian troops in Cracow, consisting of upwards of six hundred men, whom they drove out, and took possession of the garrison; soon after which, viz. on the 24th of March, 1794, Kosciusko issued the following proclamation:

" Dear Fellow Citizens,

" Having been often called to assist in the salvation of our common country, behold I obey the call—but I cannot be useful to you, or break the chains of slavery, if you do not give me speedy succor!—Support me with your whole force, and fly to the standard of your country. In this common cause the same zeal ought to animate us all.

" Make voluntary sacrifices of your wealth, which hitherto, instead of being at your own disposal, was at the will of a despot.—Furnish men capable of bearing arms—do not refuse the necessary provisions of bread, biscuit, &c.—Send horses, shirts, boots, cloth and canvass for tents. The generous sacrifices made to liberty and your country, will receive their recompence in the gratitude of the nation.

" The last moment is arrived, in which despair, in the midst of shame and reproach, puts arms in your hands. Our hope is in the *contempt of death*, which can alone enable us to ameliorate our fate and that of our posterity. Far be from us that terror, which the enemies, conspired against us, endeavor to infuse in our minds.

" The first step to throw off the yoke, is to dare to believe ourselves free—and the first step to victory, is a confidence in our strength!

" Citizens, the palatinate of Cracow affords you a signal example of patriotism. It offers the flower of its youth, having already granted pecuniary and other assistance—their example is worthy of imitation—do not hesitate to place credit in your country which will reward you well—the ordinances issued by the generals of the palatinate, and the commanders of the troops, to furnish the necessary provisions, will be placed to the account of imposts, and will be paid for

in the sequel. It is unnecessary to encourage you before hand, because that would appear to doubt your civism; the continued oppression practised by the Russian soldiers, ought sufficiently to convince you, that it is better to make voluntary sacrifices to your country, than to make sacrifices by force to an enemy. Whoever in these circumstances dares be insensible to the urgent necessities of his country, must draw upon himself eternal infamy.

"Dear fellow citizens, I expect every thing from your zeal—your hearts will join that sacred union which is neither the work of foreign intrigue, nor of a desire of domination, but is solely the effect of a love for liberty.

"*Who does not declare for us is against us.* He who refuses to associate with those who have sworn to shed their last drop of blood for their country, is either an enemy, or one who is neuter, and in such a case, neutrality is a crime against civism. I have sworn to the nation that the powers intrusted to me shall not be applied to the oppression of the people. At the same time I declare, that whoever acts against our confederacy, shall suffer the punishment established in the national act, of a traitor and enemy to his country.

"We have already sinned by connivance, which has ruined Poland. Scarcely has an offence against the people ever been punished. Let us now adopt a different mode of conduct—and let us recompense virtue and civism by pursuing and punishing traitors.

THADDE KOSCIUSKO."

After this proclamation, the populace assembled in prodigious numbers, every where shouting, "Long live Kosciusko." They then conducted him to the town-house of Cracow, where he was presented to the heads of the Polish nobility, who had assembled there to receive him. By these he was formally invested with the title of general, and made commander in chief of the troops collected for liberating Poland from the shackles of its oppressors. His troops then also took an oath to deliver their country, or perish in the attempt.

To such a degree of enthusiasm were the Poles animated by the conduct of Kosciusko, that his army was superabundantly supplied with every article necessary for the prosecution of hostile operations.

On the 26th of March the different corporations of Cracow assembled under their respective banners before the town-house, from whence the magistrates led them on in a procession to the church of the Holy Virgin, where the Constitution of the 3d of May, 1791, was publicly read with great solemnity, accepted, and an oath taken to defend it. General Kosciusko afterwards issued a proclamation, exhorting the Polish subjects to respect the dominions of the Emperor, and to give no reason of complaint to any of the subjects of his imperial majesty. This proclamation was sent to all the Austrian commanders and magistrates of the frontier territories, requesting at the same time, that if during the troubles in Poland, any violence should be committed on the persons or property of any of the subjects of his imperial majesty, application should be made to the revolutionary government which had been established, and which engaged to procure an immediate and ample satisfaction and indemnification for such violation.

By this revolutionary tribunal the chancellor Rimislawski, and several other persons of inferior note were tried, convicted of treason against the nation, and executed in the market-place.

Baron d'Ingelstrophm, having about this time surrounded the diet at Warsaw with his military forces, now demanded that the arsenal should be surrendered to him. This was bravely resisted, and notice being sent to Kosciusko, he on the 6th of April set out from Cracow on his route to Warsaw. His army of regulars and artillery had received a reinforcement of 4000 peasants, armed with pikes, scythes, &c. On his way he defeated 6000 Russians, under Romanzow. The Polish peasants, driven to desperation, gave no quarter. A dreadful carnage of the Russians was the consequence. Colonel Woronzow was taken prisoner, 1000 Russians were killed, while the Poles had only 60 slain and 80 wounded. The defeated lost eleven pieces of heavy artillery, and all their ammunition.

Early on the 16th of April, the Russian ambassador, not only again demanded the surrender of the Polish arsenal, but also that the military should be disarmed, and that twenty persons of consequence should be arrested, and, if found guilty, punished with death. The king and permanent council remonstrated in vain. Prince Sulkowsky, the chan-

cellor, being sent to Ingelstroph upon the occasion, was received with so much violence and insult, as to throw him into a dangerous sickness, in which he remained a considerable time. This spread rapidly through the city. The soldiers and inhabitants prepared for what they expected would follow. The Russians, of whom there were six thousand in the city, attempted, early in the morning of the 17th, to take possession of the arsenal, and disarm the garrison. A deputation immediately flew to the king, and requested him to revenge the insult offered to his troops in the capital. He immediately answered, "Go and defend your honor!" They instantly took the loaded piece of cannon which stood before the castle, and marched to the palace of Ingelstroph, who was then in it. In the mean time the people took possession of the arsenal, armed themselves, drew out the cannon, and assembled a force of 20,000 soldiers, citizens and inhabitants. The contest began, and continued without the least intermission for eighteen hours, when the Russians, driven from palace to palace, belonging to different nobles, hung out the white flag, and offered to surrender. Although this was most readily accepted, the Russians were so treacherous as to fire upon the people afterwards. This so incensed the inhabitants, that they killed all the Russians, and set fire to the palaces and places of their shelter.

The Prussian minister Buckholz was detained as an hostage, as were several Russian general officers.

The situation of the king now became alarming, especially since the regency no longer kept any measures with the ministers and other agents of Russia and Prussia, and the people had shewn an inclination for capital punishments.

On the 24th eight members of the regency went to the king and said, "We are appointed by the regency to say to you, Sire, that the people express great distrust of your majesty being desirous of quitting Warsaw secretly. They say that yesterday you took a walk along the Vistula, accompanied only by two persons, in order to prepare your flight by water. We have pledged our lives on the falsity of these suspicions, but the alarms of the people are not to be calmed; and we beg of your majesty to give us the means of satisfying the people on this head." The king replied, "It is about four days since I took such a walk as you mention, but it was in broad day, and without any mystery. I went

to see the rafts which were arrived, and to ask what provisions they had brought for Warsaw, a thing of much importance at the present juncture. I afterwards went to see how far the building of the bridge was advanced. From thence I returned to the Great Square in full day, and accompanied not by two persons, but by a crowd of people. Gentlemen, I gave you, four days ago, my word that I would not quit Warsaw—I reiterate the same to you now in the most positive manner—What would you more?" Upon this answer of the king, the delegates replied, "That for themselves, they were persuaded of his truth; but that the people's distrust was so great, that something more than this must absolutely be done."—"Say then, yourselves, (replied the king) what you think necessary." They then declared, "That the people wished to have some one of confidence always in the royal apartment, and to follow his majesty wheresoever he went." The king answered, "This must necessarily hurt me extremely, if the distrust arises from you; but as you say the people can no otherwise be calmed, I do not oppose it." The delegates then begged the king to appear often in the most frequented places of the city, as he had been used before the 17th of April, which the king promised. The delegates then mentioned two foreigners who resided at the castle, and were attached to the king, the one for near thirty, the other for ten years, as much suspected. This intimation was highly resented by his majesty, and he concluded the audience with answering for the fidelity of all his servants who resided at his palace.

The plan of setting a guard over the king was, however, put into execution. Two municipal officers accompanied him wherever he went, and ate at his table. For this service, fourteen members of the municipality had been nominated, who relieved each other every twenty-four hours. In other respects the king was treated with every outward mark of dignity, and he shewed himself to the people every day by riding through the streets of Warsaw. It will, however, be perceived by this circumstance, that Stanislaus, the good but unfortunate king, was a mere prisoner of State, and his life dependent on the will of the mob. The council of regency was at this time supreme.

The king of Prussia now, having detached himself from the confederacy against the French, arrived at the head of

his army in Poland, and, united with the forces of Russia, under General Fersen, conceived that he came but to conquer.

We may here stop to contemplate the scene which Poland at this time presented to the view of Europe. We perceive an honest unsophisticated people, oppressed by strangers, and a virtuous but unhappy prince struggling in the same toils, lost to his age, and useless to his nation. Poland, so long the victim of foreign politics and venal elections, and protected only by the common jealousy of neighbouring states, became the easy prey of treaties and partitions; but at length, instead of intriguing and negotiating, we behold the Russian ambassador give the law at Warsaw, himself a soldier, and an army in his suite. Prussia, which had sometimes been temperate from fear, and just from jealousy, threw off the mask, and avowed that it would divide, not defend the territories of its allies; an ally whom it had long deterred and intimidated from deprecating the vengeance of Russia, and securing the friendship of that turbulent court by concessions equal to its rapacity and ambition. The house of Austria, entangled and embarrassed in a distant and sanguinary war, was content to look on with a sullen neutrality, or to stipulate a reversion and contingency in the price of so much violence and iniquity; perhaps, too, it looked for a balance of aggrandizement in the acquisition of provinces which had long been severed from another frontier of the empire by the victorious arms of Louis the Fourteenth. These views must naturally be involved in impenetrable mystery, till events themselves shall chase the cloud from before us; Poland, however, remained without a friend, a protector, or an ally; her bitter fortune threw her in the midst of enemies, who are those of one another when they are not her's, and who know no bond of peace, no interruption of hostility, but while they plot her ruin, or consummate the crimes of which she is the victim. Does the court of Vienna regret Silesia, or pant for the reunion of Lorraine and Alsace? The balance is to be preserved in the Germanic body, by indemnifying the king of Prussia with the spoils of Poland. Does Prussia covet the maritime towns of Poland? The empress must have an equivalent in the interior provinces of Poland. And lastly, does she form a design to become a German power, or to occupy the delightful pro-

vinces of European Turkey?—The consent of Prussia is to be bought with a third partition of Poland. Poland pays every crime, and feeds the insatiable maw of avarice, envy, and ambition—"Indemnify yourself in Poland" is the spirit of every treaty, and the virtue of every negotiation.

To return. Stanislaus now entered warmly into the national cause, and among the first acts of patriotism sent one half of his plate to the mint, and a thousand ducats to the military chest; the other half of the royal plate was to be expended in gratuities to the families of such as perished in the cause of their country during the seventeenth and eighteenth of April.

All parties, the king, the nobles, and the people, being now united, it became apparent that, though some extreme cruelties, executions, and proscriptions by the revolutionary committee had led Europe to suppose that the French furor had seized the Poles, yet the real object of their present exertions was widely different, and might be divided into two parts: the first was, the recovery of the dismembered provinces; the second, the perfect and entire re-establishment of the Constitution of May 3, 1791, a constitution of a nature very opposite to that system of equality which, in order to level every thing, destroys, and degrades all that is respectable in society.

It will not be expected, and cannot be necessary, that we should trace all the vicissitudes of the campaign; the various actions in different and distant parts of the kingdom can only be interesting in their eventual tendency, and would be tedious in the detail. Prominent events, therefore, are all that we shall record.

Towards the end of May the Prussian minister at the court of Vienna requested, on the part of the king his master, the co-operation of Austria against Poland; the Austrian cabinet however answered, that it would do every thing to debar the Poles from receiving any succour, but that it could do no more at present than draw a strong cordon on the Polish frontier.

On the twenty-ninth of the same month the provisional council of regency at Warsaw ceased its functions and gave place to a national council in consequence of an order from Kosciuszko, who further commanded that all their delibera-

tions should be submitted to the king, and that his majesty should be requested to communicate his opinion to them on all subjects connected with the welfare of the state. Notice of this measure was transmitted in a letter from Kosciusko to the king, who returned the following answer :

“ Mr. Generalissimo,

“ You may judge yourself of the satisfaction I feel by your letter of the twenty-first of May, which I received the twenty-sixth following. I have already assured you that I never will remove from my country and my nation, even at the greatest personal risque ; that I do not desire authority or power any more, or longer than you and the nation find it useful to the country. Persisting invariably in this determination, I have received, with sensibility, the information you have announced to me, of having ordered the supreme council to make a report to me of all their essential operations.

“ This day Mr. President Zakrzewsky, and Mr. Potocki, formerly marshal, confirmed to me the same thing in the name of the supreme council established here during yesterday, and they have shewed me what you enjoined in writing to this effect. Agreeably to your expectations and desires, I will communicate to the council faithfully all my IDEAS relative to the welfare of the country. I will, moreover, concur conjointly with this council in all the means which may assure the welfare of the country and the nation.

“ Under the auspices of Providence, let us all hope for the common defence of the intentions and works of all of us, who are born Polonese—fully and sincerely UNITED. I shall employ myself to attain the proposed end by co-operating by my example, and by encouraging others.

“ My vows and wishes accompany you every where ; and it is from the bottom of the most sincere heart that I give you the assurance of the highest esteem, and of the affection that I bear you.

(Signed)

STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS King.”

Warsaw, May 29, 1794.

In this letter we see something like mutual confidence restored, and due respect paid to regal power : but we have still the mortification of beholding degradation supply the place of respect towards the most benevolent and patriotic

king that ever added lustre to a diadem. The fact is, that a municipal officer still accompanied the king all day and slept in the same apartment at night. The king had neither influence nor agency in the affairs of the nation; and with respect to military movements, he was not permitted even to ask questions. It had been signified to him, that on condition of his silence in this particular, he might be assured that every mark of respect due to his person should be observed.

On the 15th of June Cracow surrendered to the Prussian forces under general Van Elfner, and on very favourable conditions. The people at Warsaw, however, were much enraged at the capitulation, as there were seven thousand men in arms and fifty pieces of cannon in the garrison.

The king of Prussia now bent his course towards Warsaw, within a small distance of which place he remained for a considerable time without commencing any operations. A corps of Russians also was stationed in the environs of the capital. By a singular dexterity Kosciuszko eluded the Prussian, and by a brave attack defeated the Russian troops, and on the 11th or 12th of July entered Warsaw.

As Warsaw has no fortifications a siege in form was not necessary to the Prussians. But as that part of the capital which was exposed to them was covered by an intrenched camp of the army of Kosciuszko, it was unavoidably necessary to attack it by storm. This attack was made on the 31st of June, by a heavy cannonade, and in the course of that day several hundred bombs were thrown into the city; but a dreadful fire being kept on the besiegers by day and night, an incredible number of lives were lost. The issue of this enterprize caused much concern, and excited a very lively interest in Prussia, as not only the monarch but the two eldest princes shared the toil and hazard which attended it. The prince royal was once in imminent danger. The cannonading having ceased, he laid himself down to rest in a barn, with orders to be awakened at the first shot of the enemy. His orders were complied with, and the prince had no sooner mounted his horse than one of the enemy's bombs burst, and destroyed the barn in which the prince had been lying a few minutes before.

Either from doubt of success in an actual attack, or from better motives, the king of Prussia endeavoured at this juncture

ture to open a negotiation for a surrender of the place. He wrote, therefore, as follows to his Polish majesty :

" Sir, my Brother,

" The position occupied by the armies which surround Warsaw, and the efficacious means which are begun to be employed to reduce it, and which augment and advance in proportion as an useless resistance is prolonged, ought to have convinced your majesty, that the fate of that city is no longer dubious. I hasten to place that of the inhabitants in the hands of your majesty : a speedy surrender, and the exact discipline I shall cause my troops, who are destined to enter Warsaw, to observe, will secure the lives and property of all the peaceable inhabitants. A refusal to the first and final summons which my lieutenant general de Schwerin has just addressed to the commandant at Warsaw, will inevitably produce all the terrible and extreme means to which an open city, which provokes by its obstinacy the horrors of a siege, and the vengeance of two armies, is exposed. If, under the circumstances in which your majesty is placed, your majesty may be permitted to inform the inhabitants of Warsaw of this alternative ; and if they are permitted freely to deliver it, I can anticipate with an extreme pleasure, that your majesty will become their deliverer. Should the contrary happen, I shall regret the more the inutility of this step, because I shall no longer be able to repeat it, however great may be the interest I take in the preservation of your majesty, and of all those whom the ties of blood and loyalty have called around your person. In this case I trust that your majesty will accept the expression of the high esteem with which I am,

Sir, my Brother,

The good Brother of your majesty,

(Signed)

FR. WILHELM."

" Camp at Wola, August 2."

The reply of Stanislaus Augustus was as follows :

" The Polish army commanded by generalissimo Kosciuszko, separating Warsaw from your majesty's camp, the position of Warsaw is not that of a city which can decide on its surrender. Under these circumstances, nothing can justify the extremities of which your majesty's letter apprizes me ; for this city is neither in a state to accept, nor in that to refuse the summons which has been transmitted by lieutenant-

general de Schwerin to the commandant of Warsaw. My own existence interests me no more than that of the inhabitants of this capital: but since Providence has vouchsafed to elevate me to the rank which allows me to manifest to your majesty the sentiments of fraternity, I invoke them to move your majesty to abandon the cruel and revengeful ideas which are so contrary to the example kings owe to nations, and, (I am persuaded of it) are altogether opposite to your personal character. (Signed)

STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS."

"Warsaw, August 3."

Kosciusko, with an army of 40,000 men, was resolved to defend himself to the last extremity; but the Prussians had carried several of the Polish redoubts, and were actually self-assured of the capture, when information was brought to the king, that an alarming insurrection had taken place in South Prussia, that defied all ordinary exertions to suppress it. The king, aware that without immediate relief, the confines of Silesia would be in danger of a complete conquest, determined on raising the siege of Warsaw, and accordingly moved to an advantageous position near Raczin, on the 6th of September, in order to take the most effectual measures that circumstances might require.

At the moment the intelligence reached him, the king issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of South Prussia, stating, that they had been imposed upon by insidious intriguers, desiring them to resist the orders of the insurgents, and offering a general amnesty to such as should return to their allegiance. The result was, that many persons who had been misled, implored the king's mercy; a force was stationed there to be ready to act in case of future attempts, and the king of Prussia returned to Berlin. Future historians will be better able to ascertain whether an awe of Kosciusko's army, under the walls of Warsaw, had not some effect on the Prussian monarch's determination to retire.

Be this as it may, Kosciusko resolved on the attempt to foment an insurrection in West Prussia, in hopes, by that circumstance, added to the troubles in the south, to divert effectually the arms of his Prussian majesty from the interior of Poland.

In a short time it became visible that Kosciusko was intent on carrying the war beyond its first limits, and of attempting

the recovery of some of the dismembered provinces; and not only of those, but even the capture of some provinces which had been subject to the house of Brandenburg for more than a century. The progress of the Poles in West Prussia was such, that after the capture of Bomberg by general Madelinski, not only Dantzic, Thorn, Culm, and Graudentz, seemed on the point of being restored to the republic of Poland; but there was even room to apprehend that the Poles would penetrate into Pomerania as far as Stetin.

Kosciusko now turned his view towards Lithuania, and resolved on measures for its safety. On his way thither, having received the news of a defeat which a corps of the Polish army had met with at Brzesc, on the eighteenth and nineteenth of September, and that general Suwarrow was on his march to attack Warsaw, he resolved to march with 20,000 men, and give battle to that general before he should approach the capital.

He was, however, informed that general Fersen meant to attempt forming a junction with general Suwarrow; to prevent which Kosciusko, leaving the main body of his army under the command of prince Poniatowski, advanced with six thousand men to intercept general Fersen. This last general resolved to attack Kosciusko on the tenth of October, when a most dreadful engagement ensued. Twice the Russians attacked with vigor, and twice they were repulsed.

The victory would have remained with the Poles, had they contented themselves with having beaten back the enemy; but resolving to pursue this advantage, they abandoned the favourable position which they had taken upon the heights, and advanced in their turn to attack the Russians. The Russian troops formed themselves anew, succeeded in throwing the Polish line into confusion, which was already a little in disorder, from their movement in advancing to the attack. The rout was soon complete. The Polish infantry defended themselves with a valour approaching to fury. The cavalry suffered less, and retreated in good order. The battle lasted from seven in the morning till noon, and the gallant Kosciusko displayed prodigies of valour. Ever in the hottest part of the engagement, he had three horses killed under him. At length, a Cossack, without knowing who he was, wound-

ed him from behind with a lance. When he felt, his attendants, in their confusion, rashly articulated his name.*

Kosciusko recovered a little, and made a few steps forward when an officer, striking him on the head with a sabre, bro't him again to the ground. While he lay weltering in his blood, he was approached by a Cossack, who prepared to give him a mortal blow ; but a Russian officer who came up at the same time stayed the arm of the Cossack ; upon which the general exclaimed, " If you wish to render me a service, suffer him to strike, do not prevent my death ?" This Russian officer is said to have been a general Chruozazow, to whose wife Kosciusko had, some weeks before, generously given leave of departure from Warsaw to join her husband.

It was soon discovered that this important defeat was attributable to the misconduct of the Polish general, prince Poninski, who was posted with four thousand men to defend the passage of the Vistula ; but who, either from ignorance or treachery, suffered the Russians to cross the river without attempting to molest them ; and when Kosciusko was attacked from a quarter whence he had no reason to expect a surprise, the same General committed a still greater fault in not coming to his assistance, though very near to the scene of action. The loss of the Poles was computed at three thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners ; and this victory cost the Russians so dear, that they fell back towards Lublin, instead of approaching Warsaw†

The misfortune of the army under general Kosciusko excited universal grief at Warsaw ; the Supreme Council, how-

* *Kosciusko was disguised in a peasant's dress, which he had never put off since the confederation. Before the battle in which he fell, he had given orders to his soldiers, that, in case he should fall into the hands of the enemy, they might shoot him. This was actually attempted by some of them ; and had they not, in their consternation, pronounced his name, he would not have been known.*

† *The Empress, to testify to general Suwarrow her satisfaction on the subject of the victory at Brzese, appointed him her aid-de-camp, and sent him a crown of laurels, set in brilliants, of the value of sixty thousand rubles. She also permitted him to choose a regiment in her army, which should bear his name forever.*

ever, undaunted, and firm in their duty, published the following address to the nation:

“Citizens,

“When you took up arms with an intention of recovering your liberty, and of saving the country, you solemnly swore before God, that neither the greatest adversities, nor the greatest reverses, should shake your fortitude. Providence, in whose hand is the fate of nations, has been pleased to try your constancy. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, whom you had elected chief of the armed force, has just been made prisoner in a bloody combat with the enemy. This sad event certainly fills your hearts with just sorrow, and your sensibility is the tribute due to the virtue of that worthy citizen, the victim of his patriotism. But, citizens, beware of despair, and of burying with his fate the hopes of your country. Remember the motto you have adopted, *Liberty or Death!* Preserve the spirit of unity, redouble your zeal and courage, and God will still bless the goodness of your cause.

“The Supreme Council promise you, that they will remain on their post; that they will defend liberty with you, or perish along with her. In order to fulfil the duty prescribed to the council by the act of insurrection, they have appointed a new supreme chief of the armed force: Thomas Wawrzecki, lieutenant-general, has been elected. Citizens, you know his excellent character; you are acquainted with his civil and military virtues. The council hope, that you will not suffer yourselves to be cast down by misfortune; but rather that you will summon up all your strength, for the salvation of the state; and that, supported by your energy, you will enable the Council to maintain the defence of liberty and the country.

“Done at Warsaw, in the sitting of the Council,
October 14, 1794.”

At the same time was dispatched the following letter of the Supreme National Council to Generalissimo Kosciuszko.

“The Council, in your misfortune, bewails that of the country at large. They placed not in events that confidence which they have never ceased to repose in your virtues. The duty of good citizens, and your example, will prevent our despairing of the country. As long as you shall be at liberty to address the Council, boldly make known to us your wants, and those of the brave companions of your ef-

forts, who now partake of your melancholly situation. So high is the value which the Council set upon your person that they would willingly restore to the enemy all their prisoners in exchange for you; and there is not an individual in the Council that would not joyfully barter his liberty for your's.

"It is by an uncommon course of things, Generalissimo, that you receive from your cotemporaries that tribute which the latest posterity will one day render you.

"Such are the sentiments which the Supreme Council charges me, in my quality of president for the present week, to convey to you: and to these I add the feelings of my profound respect.

"(Signed)

"THADDEUS DEMBOWSKI, President."

A few days after this, a trumpeter from the enemy brought a letter from Kosciusko to the Supreme Council, in which he stated, that the number of officers taken prisoners in the action of the 10th, amounted to 125 persons, with five generals beside himself. He spoke highly of the treatment he received from general Fersen, and the care that was taken to heal his wounds.

Soon after the battle of Brzesc, the Russian general Fersen wrote in these terms to the king of Poland:

"SIRE,

"The total defeat of the Polish corps at Kamech, the making of a great number of privates and officers of every rank, and above all the commander in chief, and author of the revolution of 1794 (Kosciusko,) prisoners of war, were the glorious effects of the arms of her Imperial Majesty on the 10th of October.

"Convinced that your majesty and the republic of Poland have again entered into the former order of things, I apply to the legitimate power of Poland, by a just reclamation, to demand the liberty of the Russian generals, officers, soldiers, and servants, as well as persons of the diplomatic body, who, in contempt of the most sacred rights of nations, have been detained in the prison of the capital. I desire they may be safely conveyed to the corps under my command.

"In the most sincere hope that tranquility will once more be restored in Poland, and that I shall in the course of this

year have the honour of personally paying my respects to your majesty, I beg your majesty to condescend to accept of the *anticipated* homage with which I am, &c.

“BARON FERSEN.”

To which insolent application the king thus replied :

“SIR,

“However painful we find the defeat of a part of the Polish army on the 10th of October, especially on account of the loss of a man valuable in all respects, and whose merit it has been to have laid the foundation of the independence of his country, yet it cannot shake the firmness of those who have solemnly vowed either to die or to conquer for liberty.

“You need not wonder, Sir, if your demand to us of the liberation of the Russian prisoners and hostages, who serve as pledges for the Poles seized by the Russians, does not meet with our concurrence. If you were to propose the exchange of your prisoners for our own, I would then voluntarily gratify your wishes.

“STANISLAUS, REX.”

The Russians now hastily advanced towards the capital, and general Fersen summoned Warsaw to surrender. This summons was inclosed in a letter to the king, which he sent unopened to the council. The answer was, as might be expected, an absolute refusal. At this juncture the Polish generals Madelinski and Dambrowski, by forced marches, retreated from South Prussia, and by skilful manœuvres threw themselves into Warsaw.

After the junction of the Russian corps of generals Fersen, Dernfeld, and Denisow, with that of Suwarrow, they proceeded, under the command of the latter general, for Prague, where, on the 4th of November, they made dispositions for operating a cruel change in the situation of the Polish inhabitants.

The suburb of Prague, separated from Warsaw by the vistula, was defended by more than a hundred pieces of cannon, disposed upon 33 batteries. It was under the fire of this terrible artillery that general Suwarrow made his troops mount to the assault, in the same manner as he had done at the taking of Ismael.* He gave also general directions that not a

* It will be recollected that it was general Suwarrow who commanded at the taking of this Turkish fortress, where the Rus-

musket shot should be fired, but that his troops, upwards of 50,000 strong, should employ only the sabre and the bayonet. Each column was preceded by a body of soldiers with scaling ladders and fascines to fill up ~~the~~ entrenchments, and means to carry the assault. But the ardour of the Russians rendered this unnecessary; for within 150 paces of the entrenchments, a general cry was raised at once by all the columns, and the soldiers in the front, flinging away the ladders and fascines that encumbered them, sprung forward with their comrades to climb the works of the besieged.

The centinels on the works had but that moment given the alarm, and the cannon of the Poles commenced firing on all sides, but with no effect, as from the darkness of the night their balls passed harmlessly over the heads of the Russians. By good fortune or good conduct, which seldom occurs in such operations, it happened that the six Russian columns presented themselves at the same moment before the lines of Prague; so that the Polish generals, occupied at once in all quarters, could not succour one place more than another, and were unable to maintain an unequal contest against the united attack of 50,000 men.

The cry raised by the columns penetrated the entrenchments on the side of the Vistula, and added further to the consternation of the Poles engaged with the other columns, who, fearing to be surrounded, were for retiring into Warsaw over a bridge. Here again they were met by the other Russian columns, when a dreadful conflict ensued, in which a great part of the garrison of Prague was miserably slaughtered. The resistance was at an end in the space of eight hours, but the fury of the Russians continued the massacre for two hours longer.

From the windows of the houses and hotels of Warsaw, the appalled inhabitants were spectators, at the dawn of day, of the merciless slaughter of their friends, and the pillage committed in the suburbs, which continued till the noon of the 5th.

The number of unfortunate Poles who perished by the sword, the fire, and the water (the bridge over the Vistula

flashed entered by climbing over the dead bodies of their comrades as well as their enemies. The general gave the same orders in the assault of the suburbs of Prague, and enjoined his soldiers to give no quarter.

having been broken during the action,) were estimated as follows : Five thousand men were slain in the assault ; the remaining 5000 (for there were only 10,000 soldiers in the town, and the Russians were 500,000 strong) were taken prisoners or dispersed. After the battle was ended, the Russians proceeded to disarm the citizens, and to plunder their houses. When this was over, and ten hours after all resistance had ceased, about nine o'clock at night they set fire to the town, and began to butcher the inhabitants. The sick and the wounded perished in the flames : the rest, old men, women, and children, fell by the sword. Nine thousand persons of every age, and of either sex, are computed to have fallen in the massacre, and the whole of the suburb, except a few scattered houses was reduced to ashes.

After this dreadful execution, no hope remained of saving Warsaw. The principal chief of the insurrection, count Ignatius Potocki himself, advised to treat with the Russian general ; and for that purpose repaired to the headquarters of the Russians, with propositions of peace, in the name of the republic. But count Suwarrow refused to hear him, observing haughtily, that the Empress, his sovereign, was by no means at war with the republic ; that the only object of his coming before Warsaw was to reduce to obedience those Polish inhabitants who, by taking up arms, had disturbed the repose of the state. He at the same time insinuated, that he should treat with none of the chiefs of the insurrection, but only with persons who, invested with legitimate authority, should come to speak in the name, and on the part, of his Polish majesty.

Count Potocki being returned with this answer, it was resolved to send deputies from the magistracy of Warsaw to the Russian commander. During all this time the fire of the city did not cease playing upon the Russians in the suburb of Prague, who answered it but feebly. The deputies Buzakowski, Strazakowski, and Makarowez, having repaired to the head-quarters, returned about noon on the fifth. They had been constrained to surrender the city at discretion into the hands of count Suwarrow, under the single condition that the inhabitants should be secure in their lives and property. The general, having consented to this, added, " That besides safety to their persons, and the preservation of their

property, there was a third article, which, without doubt, the magistrates had forgotten to ask, and which he granted, *pardon for the past.*"

The deputies being returned into the city, a proclamation was published to this effect :

"The deputies of the city of Warsaw, sent to general Suwarrow, commanding the Russian troops under the city, having reported to the magistracy that they were received amicably by his excellency the said General, who had declared his disposition for a capitulation ; and also that they had obtained some preliminary articles, signed by him, by which he had promised the citizens safety to their persons and property, and oblivion of all past wrongs : the magistracy notifies the same to the citizens, wishing them to keep themselves quiet till the entire conclusion of the capitulation, and that they will cease their fire, his excellency having ordered his men not to fire on their part.

In consequence of this submission of the city, the magistracy also informed the people of the desire of General Suwarrow, that all the inhabitants should surrender their arms, of every kind, before the signing of the capitulation, under promise of all arms of value, and fowling-pieces, being returned to the proprietors after the re-establishment of tranquillity. The inhabitants obeyed this order, but the soldiery then in the city refused. Their chief Wawrzecki, and many members of the Supreme Council, refused to take part in the capitulation.

This difficulty gave occasion for more parleys, which lasted all the sixth. The king demanded a week to accomplish a pacification ; but count Suwarrow would grant no more than two or three days ; during which time they laboured to repair the bridge over the Vistula. In fine, it was agreed that those of the military who refused to lay down their arms should have liberty to go out of Warsaw. But the Russian general added this declaration, that "all who choose this alternative, might be sure of not escaping any where else ; and that, when overtaken, no quarter would be granted."

After the agreement was signed, the members of the supreme council, and generalissimo Wawrzecki, waited upon the king, in the morning of the 7th of November, and remitted into his hand, the authority they had exercised in

Warsaw. The same day the magistrates informed the inhabitants, that the capitulation having been signed, the Russian troops were about to enter the city : that the Russian general having promised observance of the most exact discipline, the burgeses were enjoined to preserve order on their part ; and the more securely to preserve tranquility, they commanded all the houses to be kept shut. The general made his formal entry into Warsaw on the 9th, all the streets being lined with Russian troops, while the houses, even those of the foreign ministers, were shut up. The chief magistrate met him at the bridge of Prague, and presented him the keys of Warsaw on a velvet cushion.—Suwarrow received the magistrate with a grace that was highly pleasing to the citizens. He afterwards received the compliments of the king, and on the 10th he repaired with great pomp to the castle, to pay his respects to his majesty.

Major general d'Isiniéff was now dispatched to Petersburg with the news of the reduction of Warsaw by the troops of the Empress ; the 1st of December was set apart as a day of solemn thanksgiving of God, and *Te Deum* was sung for this important event.

“ The impiety which prevails in France (as an anonymous writer has observed) must shock every serious mind : but what is it compared with this act of ostentatious and solemn blasphemy ! If it were possible to suppose that those who had acted a part in it really believed they were performing an act of religion, how much more dreadful would such religion be than the most determined Atheism !

“ Melancholly and disconsolate, -indeed, is the idea, that this world is the sport of a blind chance, and that death will consign the best and the worst of mankind for ever to one common oblivion ; but how much more terrible would it be to suppose the universe under the government of, and mankind accountable for their actions to such a god as is worshipped at Petersburg : to a Being who is supposed to assist the arms, and enjoy the triumph of powerful oppression over persecuted virtue and innocence, and to delight in seeing his altars stream with the blood of women and of children, and in hearing his praises chanted by the voices of murderers, and in the midst of the shrieks and groans of his victims !”

The Polish patriots who refused to accede to the capitulation of Warsaw took their route toward Sandomir, under the

command of Wawrzecki. Their number was 30 000. In want however of provisions, and pressed by the Russians and Prussians, they were soon forced to disband, after spiking eighty pieces of cannon. The Prussian general Kleist took twenty-two pieces, nineteen waggons of ammunition, and 3000 stand of arms. The remainder of the booty fell into the hands of the Russians. A corps of 6000 men still remained under Wawrzecki, who accompanied by the generals Madalinski, Dombrowski, and Zajonczech, the chancellor Kal-lontai, the president Zakrzewski, and several other members of the supreme council, took the route toward Gallicia.

The utmost tranquility was soon established in the city of Warsaw, by means of 9000 Russians, who were constantly on guard, 18,000 in Prague, with all the artillery of the insurgents, and 10,000 in the same position on the Vistula, which was occupied by Kosciusko, during the siege by the Prussians. All around the city batteries were erected with cannon pointed at the city, to keep it in submission, whatever event might happen.

Kosciusko had been all this time under surgical assistance at Ufzeylack, where the Russians shewed every attention to the care of his wounds. Madame Chruozazow, wife to the Russian general of that name, who had herself been formerly set at liberty by the orders of Kosciusko, was very serviceable to him by her kind and personal assiduities. He was now ordered to Petersburg, and the escort appointed to convey him thither consisted of two pulks of cossacks, each pulk consisting of 500 men, one of which formed an advance, and another a rear guard to his coach, having two cannons each.— In the coach with Kosciusko were one major and two other officers, and between the two pulks were conducted 3000 Polish prisoners, together with their officers. It is understood that this brave man is now confined in a fortress near the Russian capital.

It is not doubted that an application has been made from the national council at Warsaw to the Ottoman court, for its interference to prevent the final dismemberment of Poland; but of the success of this application there is at present no probability. On the contrary, some measures seem to have been already taken toward that design; for about the middle of December the Austrian captain Thel was dispatched to Vienna by general Suwarrow, with an account of an ar-

rangement made by the Russian Empress of the territories of Poland. The house of Austria having gained these possessions without the trouble of fighting, appeared so well satisfied with the disposition, that captain Thel, for having been the bearer of the intelligence, was advanced to the rank of major, and colonel Fleischer, of the *etat major*, is shortly to set out for Poland, in order to ascertain the line of demarkation. The Austrian acquisitions, it is rumoured, are to consist of five provinces; the palatinates of Chelm, Sendomir, Lublin, Cracow, and Haliez, sometimes called Pokucie. One thing, however, seems to embarrass this distribution, which is, that the Prussian troops still remain possessed of the palatinate of Sendomir, or, if not actually in possession, are encamped upon its frontiers.

It might reasonably have been hoped that the miseries of this distracted country had been now at an end. The humble submission of the patriots to those who had robbed them of their liberties, it might have been expected, would have disarmed them of their vengeance; but on the 20th of December a courier arrived from the Empress to general count Buxhoerden, governor of Warsaw, with orders to arrest and send under a strong escort to Petersburg, count Ignatius Potocki; the former president, Zakrezewsky; Kilinski, a revolutionary colonel; Kapostes, a merchant, member of the supreme revolutionary council, and minister of finance; and Lebuchewski. The same messenger brought also a letter from the empress to the king, inviting (or, as some accounts state, peremptorily commanding him) to quit his capital, and to repair to Grondo; and on the 7th January, 1795, his majesty sat off in obedience to the summons. What her purpose is in this measure cannot certainly be known. There is an appearance of cruelty however, independent of the mortification to royal dignity, in thus compelling a king, worn out with age and an impaired constitution, to the fatigue at this inclement season of so long a journey. But from every appearance the life of this excellent man and monarch promises a short duration. The wretched state in which his country is involved has deeply affected him, and will most probably accelerate his departure to the tomb.

* We now return to what more immediately concerns General Kosciusko. After his arrival at Petersburg, he was immediately confined in the fort, and there attended by an ignorant physician so that, if nature had not favoured him with an extraordinary strong constitution, he would unavoidably have fallen a victim to his many dangerous wounds. Having for the space of nine months lingered in a dungeon-like prison, he was at length removed into the city, and, in two rooms allowed him, strongly guarded. In this new confinement, which lasted till the death of the Empress, he was attended by Dr. Rogerfon, an English physician, to whose skill and assiduity he in a great measure owed his recovery. It was through the interference and interest of that gentleman that Kosciusko was allowed sometimes to be carried about in a garden adjoining his apartments, to enjoy the benefit of the air.

On the 17th of November 1796, the Empress Catharine II, died, and on the 1st of December following Kosciusko was released from his confinement with all his companions and other prisoners of war, by the new Emperor Paul. Even those unhappy Polanders, who formerly had been carried into Russian captivity were liberated on the 10th of the same month, among whom were some who had been confined upwards of eighteen years, the whole amounting to about eighteen thousand.

The new Emperor Paul, a few days after the death of the Empress, went in person to the apartments, of Gen. Kosciusko, and ordered his liberation. Soon after, he was carried to the Emperors palace and admitted to a private audience, and as even princes sometimes cannot help paying tribute to heroism, virtue and patriotism, the Emperor, after some conversation left the apartment, and in a few minutes returned, accompanied by the Empress, and all her children, who took their seats around the General. Some generous offers of the Emperor seem to have been rejected by Kosciusko, who intimated his intention of retiring to America. Accordingly on the 20th of December, he quitted Petersburg, accompanied by two Polish officers, who had shared his fate, Nie-

* *The preceeding account is taken from the history of Poland, published in 1795.*

meewicz and Libicheski. The former, a cousin of Kosciuszko was his first adjutant and had at that important diet of 1791 highly distinguished himself by his eloquence and patriotism. In order to avoid the Prussian dominions, they, in that rigorous season of the year, travelled by land to Abo, and crossing the dangerous passage of the gulph of Bothnia went to Stockholm, and thence to England where they arrived on the 28th of May. On the 18th of June they embarked at Bristol on board the *Adriana* and on the 17th of August 1797, safely arrived at Philadelphia. May he in this land of liberty amidst the sympathy of congenial spirits enjoy a portion, at least, of that happiness of which he has been for many years so cruelly deprived by despotic persecution.

THE SEVEN YEARS WAR IN GERMANY,

Continued from p. 96, Vol. II.

FREDERIC, after the departure of the Russians, remained but two weeks in that position; he did not consider the campaign as finished and was desirous of signalizing it by some actions. Laudon was strongly entrenched, and unwilling to risque a battle. The king thought to draw him from his advantageous situation by menacing marches, and to drive him to Bohemia. According to this plan, he put his army in motion, and quitted the vicinity of Shweidnitz. This fortress, like all other Prussian forts, was but weakly garrisoned. Laudon, sensible of the impossibility of besieging that place, the king being in the neighbourhood, formed the plan of a surprize. The secrecy of the preparations, and the weakness of the garrison, promised success. There were two hundred and forty pieces of heavy cannon in the fort, and only one hundred and ninety one artillerymen. Gen. Zastrow, the commandant of Shweidnitz, not being acquainted with the king's movements, was so careless as even not to send out parties to observe the enemy's motions. Laudon, therefore, was able to arrange every thing, undisturbed and unobserved. He first surrounded the fort by light troops, and on the 1st of October ordered the Croats to

to make a false attack, during which time the fort was assailed by four different columns. The commanders had thought proper to encourage the assailants by distributing brandy among them. On the Russian detachment, which was joined to the Austrian in this enterprize, it had a particular effect. They, in irregular bodies, pressed forwards, like madmen. In the dark, they got near a deep ditch, within the works, where the draw-bridge was drawn up. This was an unexpected impediment, and those who were foremost halted, calling out for ladders and fascines; but the Russian commanders, considering that method of getting over the ditch, too tedious, thought proper to fill the ditch with men rather than with fascines. They ordered their rear to press forwards, whereby those unhappy wretches at the head of the column, were precipitated into the abyss, and the rest marched over their bodies. The Russians cut down every thing before them. On a bastion, which they had almost mounted, the Prussians called out for quarters; but the echo of the Russians was "No quarters." A Prussian artillery-man, not willing to die without revenge, set fire to a powder magazine; whereby a number of Prussians, as well as a great part of the Russians, perished.

After an assault of three hours, at the break of day, the fort of Shweidnitz was conquered, and the garrison of three thousand men, with all the arsenals and magazines, in the hands of the Austrians. The news of this event, threw the Prussian army in the utmost consternation. All the fruits of a glorious campaign were now lost at once. To this came many woeful accounts of the disasters in Pomerania. But Frederic's fortitude soon reanimated his whole army. He assembled his officers, acquainted them with his misfortunes and his hopes, and left it in the choice of every one, hopeless, to quit his service. Not one, however, made use of the offer: all felt new vigour, and wished to be led to the combat. But Laudon, contented with his advantages, avoided a battle, and remained in his camp near Fribourg; which ensured to him a free communication with Saxony, Bohemia, and Moravia. The king posted his troops in cantonments, and took his head quarters at Strehlen.

During these operations in Silesia, the Russians made use of their great superiority in Pomerania. Romanzow received orders again to besiege Colberg. In August he approach-

ed that place with a considerable corps. A Russian and Swedish fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line, five frigates, and other armed vessels, supported the siege by sea. The possession of Colberg was to the Russians of the utmost consequence; as it would ensure to them firm ground in Pomerania. The Prussian General, Prince of Wirtemberg, however, did every thing to prevent it. He entrenched himself with six thousand men under the cannon of the fort. Romanzow therefore was obliged first to direct his trenches against that fortified camp. But the prince of Wirtemberg in the camp, and the gallant commandant, Hayden, in the fort, disputed the Russians every inch of ground. The bombardment by land and sea continued for some time uninterrupted. But stormy weather, during which, several large vessels foundered, obliged the fleet to leave the coast of Pomerania. The Russians attacked a principal redoubt; but after a murderous combat of almost four hours, at which they lost above three thousand men, were obliged to desist.

Romanzow became reinforced and continued the siege with vigour. The Prussian corps under the walls of Colberg, by the great superiority of the Russians, could now afford but a feeble protection to the city; and as the sustenance of the garrison became daily more scanty, the prince with his corps retired to Stettin. But Hayden with his small garrison defied every attempt of the numerous besieging army; his only care was to procure bread. The Russians were in possession of a fort that commanded the harbour. The Prussians made every attempt to throw provisions into the city; but their numbers being so small, they could not effect it. It was in the month of December, when the Russians prepared to storm the place. Hayden, having but a few days provision left, and the fort being summoned, consulted his soldiers and armed citizens: "We will defend ourselves whilst there is bread and powder," was their answer. Hayden ordered water to be thrown over the walls, which, being converted into ice by the frost, rendered the ramparts, inaccessible. The Russians were repulsed in repeated attacks with great loss. But at length the garrison was entirely without any kind of provision, and Hayden, who could not be conquered by powder and balls, was now by hunger obliged to capitulate after a memorable siege of four months.

The Prince of Wirtemberg now proceeded Meklenburgh, after sending part of his corps to Saxony to join Prince Henry, who during the whole campaign, maintained his position in that country against the Austrian army under Daun, and the whole army of the Empire.

The Russians now for the first time took their winter quarters in Pomerania as did the Austrians in Silesia. The loss of Colberg and Sweidnitz, which happened nearly at the same time, was therefore to the King an almost irreparable misfortune. To drive his enemies from those provinces, required strength, streams of blood, much time, and still greater luck. His old soldiers were buried on the fields of battles, his revenues became daily less, the resources from Saxony began to be exhausted, and the subsidies from Great Britain were no more paid. The King was at the end of this campaign in a more deplorable situation than ever, without even having lost a single battle. However the courage of his troops, the zeal of his experienced officers, and his mind so fertile of resources rendered those misfortunes supportable. All Europe trembled at the approaching downfall of one of the most powerful of the protestant princes of Germany, the only rival of Austria, capable to protect the weaker princes against the encroachments of Austria and to keep the Germanic constitution undisturbed.

In this terrible situation another misfortune greater than all the others, threatened the King. There were at this time a vast number of prisoners of different nations at Magdeburg, Austrians, Russians, Frenchmen, Saxons, Swedes and troops of the Empire. It was the most important fortress of the Prussian dominions. All the royal family, the Kings treasury, the archieve and every thing valuable was here deposited. Modern history does not afford an instance that on the loss of one place depended the fate of a Monarchy. If Magdebourg had been lost, all victories in the field would have been fruitless and the war at an end. This fort was garrisoned but by a few thousand men, a medly of natives, foreigners and deserters. But the immense preparations necessary to besiege that place made the king careless. Himself with his army in the field rendered every attempt impracticable. To save Magdebourg the King would have relinquished Saxony, Silesia and every thing else. The most powerful be-

MILITARY REPOSITORY.

fleeing army would have been attacked with the utmost impetuosity.

But what was impracticable by force, could be effected by treason. Frederic had no idea of any danger, when at that very time Baron Trenck* in his dungeon, covered with chains, projected the surprize of Magdeburg. A trifling circumstance disclosed the scheme, whereby the fate of a monarch, whom the most powerful potentates of Europe could not subdue, would have been determined by a man, who was fettered in chains, and as it were leaning on his tomb.

The greatest powers of Europe, having concluded upon Frederic's ruin, and the King of England, his only ally, withdrawing his assistance; he directed his attention to Asia, and endeavored to dispose the Grand Turk as well as the Tartar-Chan to make inroads into Russia and Hungary. The fame of Frederic's actions had reached even that part of the world, and his name was sounded with veneration on the Black Sea, as well as around the walls of China and on the Ganges. The Oriental nations, unacquainted with geography, were lost in astonishment, that a prince, of whose existence they had never heard, could in a series of years resist by force of arms the most powerful monarchs of the Western world. The influence of the French cabinet, however, prevented every assistance.

In Westphalia, where duke Ferdinand on account of the great superiority of the enemy, acted on the defensive only, the campaign commenced late in the summer. The two French armies under Soubise and Broglie formed a junction, and the French commanders now resolved to force duke Ferdinand to a battle. On the 15th of July they attacked him in his strong camp near Hohenover. The action lasted till after dark when the French retired.

On the following morning, at the break of day, the combat was renewed. Both the French armies approached the camp in order of battle, which they again attacked with a tremendous fire. After a murderous action of five hours, the French were again repulsed; leaving their cannon and wounded behind. The Allies made a number of prisoners,

* *A man persecuted by the King for treason and well known by the history written by himself.*

among whom were the whole regiment of Rouge. The French lost five thousand men dead, wounded, and taken prisoners. The allies counted three hundred dead, and one thousand wounded.

But Ferdinand had not gained much by his victory. The superiority of the French was so great, that to them the loss of a battle was of no consequence. They could with their armies repeat their attempts, and at last overcome the weak army of the allies; but fortunately for the latter, the French Generals could not agree. Soon after the action, they separated; Broglie marching to Cassel and Saubise passing the Rohr. Ferdinand was now compelled to divide his forces in order to observe the movements of the French armies, who at last advanced again. Broglie's design was to invade Hanover; but Ferdinand kept close to him with the view of forcing him on some advantageous ground to another action. Broglie carefully avoided every opportunity, and Ferdinand not being able to prevent his progress by force, made use of stratagem. He hastily marched to Hesse, and cut off the French transports.

This masterly war-operation had its desired effect. Broglie immediately retreated to Hesse. Winter now was approaching and Broglie took his winter quarters in and about Cassel, Saubise with his army marched to the Lower Rhine, and the Allies made good their winter quarters in Westphalia.

Frederic, without assistance, and almost without hope, saw with fortitude his downfall approaching. It seemed to be unavoidable. Victories could impede the progress of his enemies, but to take from them the conquered forts, required sieges, and a series of fortunate battles. The king's plan of operations for the ensuing campaign remained a secret, it however was totally altered through a new and unforeseen event. Fortune had often favoured the King, supported his great mind, and deluded the expectations of his enemies; but the greatest of fortune's favours was deferred to the critical moment when the crowned sage, pressed from all quarters by the powerful superiority of the armies of his enemies, expected with tranquillity the end of his fate. Nothing less than the end of the Prussian monarchy was to be expected. Frederic's penetrating mind could not be deceived by delusive hopes. He prepared for every event, and, as Quintus

MILITARY REPOSITORY.

Jeilius, his friend and daily companion relates, constantly carried poison with him to prevent the last strokes of his unhappy fate.

1762—In those hopeless moments a courier brought to the King the news of the death of Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, who died on the 25th December 1761. This event altered the whole political system of Europe. All the plans of the allied powers, all the hopes of Frederic's enemies were now at once annihilated, and the Russians, the most terrible of all the enemies of Prussia, were now by one word of their new Monarch, converted into friends.

Peter III. was attached to Frederic in the same proportion as Elizabeth hated him. A cessation of arms between Russia and Prussia was one of the first actions of the new Emperor, and peace soon followed. Elizabeth expecting such an event was wishing to persecute the king even after her death. She forced upon her death-bed the promise from the Russian Senate not to make peace with the king of Prussia without the concurrence of the other powers. Nevertheless peace was concluded as soon as she had closed her eyes. The Russian troops prepared to leave the Prussian dominions, Colberg was restored, the prisoners of war liberated, and the Russian corps under Ezernichief, which was united with the Austrian army, was recalled. Peter III. endeavoured to persuade the other belligerent powers to peace; but the Court of Vienna rejecting every proposal, Ezernichief received orders to join his corps of twenty thousand men to that of the king, and to obey his orders.

The war now took a different turn. All the Prussian dominions from Breslaw to the frontiers of Russia were now free from enemies. The Swedes, tired of the war, and afraid of the Russians, had, in the month of May, also made peace with Prussia. Peter was preparing in person to join the king with a powerful army; and all Europe expected extraordinary events.

With these brilliant hopes, the king opened the campaign of 1762. The Austrians drew all their forces to Silesia, after having detached a strong corps to the army of the Empire. They were masters of Glatz, of Sweidnitz, and the mountains. Expecting the king would lay siege to the latter fort, the Austrians made every preparation imaginable

for its security. They worked the whole winter to convert every hill around Sweidnitz into a fort ; and the city itself was garrisoned with twelve thousand of chosen troops, amply provided with every thing.

In this situation was Sweidnitz, when the King, in conjunction with the Russian corps, appeared in the vicinity. He detached general Neuwied with a corps to Bohemia, in order to force the Austrians to cover the magazines in their rear, which would interrupt their communication with Sweidnitz. Frederic hoped by these movements in the rear of the enemy to draw Daun from the hills near Burkersdorf. But the latter remained immoveable in his camp. The Prussians returned from Bohemia laden with spoil ; and now preparations were made for the siege of Sweidnitz. This, however, was impracticable, as long as the Austrians were in possession of the fortified mountains : to drive them from thence by force, required a very dangerous attempt.

Thus were both armies situated, when an extraordinary revolution took place in Russia. The Emperor, Peter III. who recently had ascended the throne, was precipitated from it. During the short space of his reign, he had rendered himself extremely unpopular by want of precaution, and by enforcing ill-digested laws. The soldiers and priests, though at all times in discord, were now united. They hated the monarch who attempted to take from the former their privileges, and from the latter their beards. He neglected the Senate, and treated the Russian nobility with contempt. The people wished, without knowing why, the continuation of the war. The Emperor also was for war ; but not against Prussia. He wished to oppose all Frederic's enemies. To all his measures, wise in themselves, but in direct opposition to the disposition of the people, came the disagreement between him and the Empress, who was highly esteemed by the nation. Compelled by the popular voice, and from motives of self-preservation, she, on the ninth of July, by one word, dethroned the Emperor. In a few hours, the powerful monarch, whose orders had been obeyed from the coasts of the Baltic to the Southern Ocean, was a poor hopeless prisoner. He formally renounced the crown in favour of the Empress ; and, a few days after, died in his prison.

The Senate, as well as the people, being in favour of the war with Prussia, the necessary orders were issued. But, on examining the Emperor's papers, Frederic's letters to Peter, produced surprise. They reconciled the Empress, as well as the Senate, containing wise propositions for the good of the nation, and earnest recommendations to treat the Empress with esteem. The orders for war were recalled, and the peace confirmed.

Frederic was on the point of attacking the Austrians on their fortified mountains, when he learned Peter's fate. Ezernichef had at the same time received orders with his corps to quit the Prussian army; and the king had to expect that the same corps in a few days would either join his enemies, again or act separate against him. It was at his option to disarm the whole Russian corps; but he dismissed them with every mark of esteem. However, the new orders for departing remained for some days a secret to the Russian, as well as to the Prussian armies; and in the Austrian camp, they were also totally ignorant of it. The arrangements, and providing for so considerable a marching corps, could not be done in one day, and of this precious time the king made use in a masterly manner. He resolved without loss of time to attack the Austrians on their mountains, which would give him the advantage of the Russians keeping their station in the line of battle, and, if attacked, defend themselves. At the same time he was wishing to give the Russians before their departure a sample of Prussian valour and tactics. In the night of the 20th of July they began working at a battery in the plain in front of the mountains, which at the break of day was compleated, and the troops were drawn up in line of battle. The Prussians as soon as daylight appeared, commenced a tremendous fire, and the Austrian cavalry, posted in the plains between the mountains, were thereby driven to a great distance. The Prussians now assailed the batteries with the greatest impetuosity. Neither the declivities, the redoubts, wolfs-diches, nor the fire-spreading cannon could impede their progress. The Austrians fled in all directions. All the mountains, which they had fortified with immense labour, were conquered in a few hours. The Austrians lost one thousand four hundred killed, eight hundred prisoners and a considerable number of cannon,

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On the twenty second of July, the day after this action the Russians left the Prussian army. But Daun had now lost all communication with Sweidnitz, and the King commenced the siege of that place in form. The besieging army was covered by two others, under the command of the King and the Duke of Bevern. This siege was in a military point of view the most remarkable during the whole war, on account of the great art displayed in attack and defence. A singular circumstance happened at the same time. Two Frenchmen commanded as engineers in, and without the fort, Gribauval and Le Fevre; the former in the Austrian and the latter in the Prussian service. They were friends and had both distinguished themselves by their writings. They had however different systems in sieges, which they publicly defended in their writings. At this siege they had an opportunity of proving the goodness of their theories by practice. The materials for these experiments, human blood, iron and powder were left to their disposition. Le Fevre wanted to take the fort by mines; but he could not accomplish his design, and they were obliged to operate according to the old system. The bombardment continued day and night; but the Austrians defended themselves bravely.

Daun, determined to relieve the place, made the attempt, six days after the beginning of the siege. Between the Austrian army and Sweidnitz, near Reichenbach, stood the Duke of Bevern with his corps, separated from the King's army, and this corps Daun intended to attack from all sides before the King could render it any assistance. The Austrians relying on their great superiority, hoped to renew the scene of Maxen. Four different corps attacked the Prussians at once in front, rear and on the flanks. But the Duke defended himself with the utmost bravery. The Austrians fell upon the baggage of the Prussians, which seemed to be lost. Some of the Prussian generals proposed to defend it with their brigades, but the Duke gave counter orders. "If we are beaten, he observed, we can hardly save any part of our baggage; but if we are victorious, we shall soon get it back again." According to this wise principle, to which the King owed his victory near Sorau in the year 1745, the Prussians abandoned their baggage to the rapacity of their enemies, and fought, without separating themselves, relying on the activity of the King, who they knew would not neglect them. And their

hopes were well founded, for after the first reports of the cannon, the Duke of Wirtemberg hastened at the head of his cavalry to their assistance. The corps under general O'Donals, which he met first, he immediately overturned. The King himself at the head of a body of infantry followed the cavalry, but before his arrival the Austrians were driven from the field, after having lost one thousand two hundred in killed and wounded, and one thousand five hundred prisoners. The Prussians counted one thousand dead and wounded. A small part of their baggage was lost. Daun now marched to Glatz, leaving Sweidnitz to its fate.

Meanwhile the siege was continued without interruption. The garrison, though without hopes of relief did not lose courage, the place being well provided with provision. Le Fevre's artful mines, however, required much time, and did very little execution. The King often visited the trenches and the measures he took were evident proofs of his great knowledge in the art of attack. The result however seemed to be doubtful, till an accident assisted the besiegers. A howitz grenade found its way to a powder Magazine in the fort, whereby a bastion with two grenadier companies was blown up. The King now made preparations for a general assault; but Guasco, the commandant, not willing to risk the event, surrendered on the 9th of October, sixty three days after the opening of the trenches. The garrison of nine thousand men were made prisoners of war, and the Prussians found in the fort three hundred and fifty three heavy guns, fifty five thousand balls, above half a ton of gun powder, and a large quantity of provisions of all kind.

The King now made arrangements to march to Saxony, whither he had already detached general Neuwied with twenty battallions, and five and twenty squadrons to reinforce the army under the command of prince Henry. This general had been extremely active with his small army, whereby he deluded all the schemes of the Austrians and the army of the Empire; but having already been reinforced by the army under general Velling, who after the peace with the Swedes had no more enemies to oppose in that quarter, he found himself strong enough to advance and to prevent the juncture of the Austrians and the army of the empire. Near Doblen he attacked the Austrian general Serbeloni, whom he defeated. The latter in his turn, a few weeks after, attacked

the Prussian outposts, but was repulsed with considerable loss. General Scidlitz, in two different engagements, near Auersbach and Toplitz, defeated the Austrian detachments, and took a number of prisoners. During this time prince Henry encamped with the main army near Frieberg, and the Austrians and the troops of the empire found an opportunity of forming a junction. The latter, relying on their great superiority, gave the Prussians an opportunity to fight upon favorable ground, and on the 29th of October a bloody and decisive battle took place near Frieberg. The Austrian light troops were quickly overpowered, and the troops of the empire being attacked in their entrenchments were driven beyond the river Mulde. The Austrians retreated, after having lost three thousand dead and wounded, and four thousand four hundred prisoners. They now marched to Bohemia whither general Kleist followed them with a flying corps. The King received the news of this battle on his march to Saxony, and now hastened to distribute his troops in their winter quarters, who formed a chain from Thuringen through Saxony, Lausatis and Silisia. A cessation of hostilities between the Prussians and Austrians now took place. The latter, at the end of the seventh campaign had nothing left of their conquests but a small district near Dresden and the county of Glatz. The King, being freed from the Russians, was now too powerful for the Austrians; they were in want of rest and therefore well pleased with the cessation of hostilities, which however extended itself to Silisia and Saxony only.

The allies had opened the campaign with unfavorable prospects. Though they were to be reinforced by twenty thousand Russians, yet their main support of Great Britain seemed to sink. The new British parliament being averse to the war by land, shewed not the least disposition to support Ferdinand's operations. But Lord Bute the minister, not finding it prudent to counteract the will of the people at once, in the Spring a number of recruits, and a new regiment of Highlanders were sent to Germany. The troops, however, were put in motion, at the end of the winter and after taking the castle of Arensburg, which was occupied by the French, the hereditary Prince of Brunswic directed his course towards the Rhine. This motion drew the French generals into the field. Soubise and Eree commanded on the Upper Rhine, and the Prince de

Conde on the lower Rhine. The loss of Broglie, who by court intrigues had been deprived of the command of the French troops, had soon become visible. The many misfortunes which befell the French armies were in a great measure imputable to that circumstance, and must have afforded some gratification to that great general. Ferdinand advanced, attacked the French near Wilhelms Thal, and drove them after a brisk action under the cannon of Cassel. A part of them took flight over the river Fulda, leaving four thousand dead and prisoners on the field of battle. The French officers who were taken prisoners had lost all their baggage which Ferdinand in some measure replaced in a very generous manner. The day after the battle he gave them a public dinner. Among other dishes a very large one was placed in the centre of the table which remained covered till dinner was almost over, when Ferdinand asked the French officers to partake of the contents of the covered dish. It being uncovered they, with astonishment, found it filled with gold watches, gold snuff boxes, rings and other valuables, of which each of them chose what he pleased.

In order to drive the French from their strong camp near Cassel, Ferdinand cut off their communication with Frankfurt. General Rochambeau, who carried it, was attacked and put to flight. The great magazines at Rothenburg fell then into the hands of the allies, who soon after gained another victory near Lutternberg, over a corps of Saxon troops; who lost a considerable number of prisoners, and fifteen cannon. Prince Frederic of Brunswic, in another engagement, drove the French from Krazenberg, and made a large number of prisoners.

The French by these misfortunes became weakened in such a degree that Prince Conde was obliged to hasten to their assistance with the grand army. The hereditary Prince of Brunswic marched towards him, and attacked him on the first of September near Johannsburg. Fortune was at first on the side of the allies; but the French, by their great superiority, at last gained the battle. Ferdinand, however, came to the assistance of the allies, whereby a total defeat was prevented. The allies on that day lost two thousand four hundred men.

After this, a junction of the French armies took place; who now again commenced offensive operations, by besieging

the Castle of Amonenburgh on the river Ohm. The allies defended the bridge leading to that castle bravely. The action lasted fourteen hours; after which the allies retired, each party having lost upwards of one thousand men. On the following day Amonenburgh surrendered.

The winter was approaching. Negotiations of peace had commenced, but the event was uncertain. Ferdinand, therefore, was wishing to finish the campaign by some important undertaking. He directed his attention towards Cassel; the possession of which, would free all Hesse from the enemy, and afford him the greatest advantages. The command of the besieging army was given to Prince Frederic, brother of the hereditary Prince of Brunswic. On the sixteenth of October the siege commenced. Attack and defence were equally lively; the garrison making frequent, but unsuccessful sorties. They were not prepared for a siege, and in want of almost every thing. Ferdinand occupied the roads, and was every where so advantageously posted, that the garrison lost all hopes of receiving supplies. Hunger compelled them to capitulate, which took place on the first of November. Two days after the preliminaries of peace were signed; which put an end to the war between France and England. Ferdinand now dismissed his troops, and the British army, which from twenty-five thousand men, were reduced to seventeen thousand, began their march towards Holland, where British transports were waiting to receive them.

France, of all the belligerent powers, was the most desirous of peace. Her finances being exhausted, her commerce reduced, her marine destroyed, and her foreign possessions almost all in the hands of the British. Ready money was extremely scarce, enormous sums having been sent to Germany, and the British cruisers having taken every thing valuable at sea. Louis XV, the princes, and nobility of France, sent their plate to the mint; but these means were not adequate to the greatness of the evil. Provinces and cities had, at their own expences, fitted out men of war and privateers, but without success; as soon as they appeared at sea, they fell a prey to the British. Preparations were made for a landing in England with six thousand flat-bottomed boats. But the Court of Great-Britain being informed of the design, it became frustrated. A number of those boats afterwards perished.

ed on the coast of France. Misfortune attended that nation every where ; and Voltaire said, " France by her alliance with Austria, became during six years, more exhausted in men and money, than by all her wars with that house in the space of two thousand years."

In this critical situation, even the last hope of France began to fail ; the king of Spain, her recent ally, being in the course of one year, rendered by the British, incapable of continuing the war. The Havannah, the key to the American possessions of the Spaniards, the bulwark of all their gold and silver markers, was lost with all the wealth it contained. Manila was taken ; Portugal, which had been overrun by the Spaniards, was liberated ; Pondicherry was devastated ; and Canada, with all the French islands in America, were in the hands of the British. All these conquests, bought by valour, streams of blood, and a national debt, oppressive to many generations, were, with the exception of Canada, restored to the enemy at the conclusion of the peace.

Frederic, by this peace, an event as extraordinary as the war itself, and a production of Lord Bute, was left to his fate ; and seemingly with a view of throwing obstacles into the way of this universally admired hero, in the treaty of peace it was expressly stipulated, that Hanover, Hessa, and other provinces of the allies should be evacuated and restored by the French, but the Prussian provinces, Cleve, Guelders &c. were only to be evacuated. By the treaty between Prussia and Great-Britain, neither party could make a separate peace, nor agree to an armistice without the concurrence of the other ; but the new British minister disregarded these solemn engagements, national honour, and the voice of the people.

The Prussian ambassador in London protested in vain against this faithless treaty of peace, as far as it respected his country. It was ratified on the 10th of February 1763. This proceeding made the deepest impression on Frederic and created in him a dislike to the whole nation. He had been admired by the Brittons to a high degree. The greatest orators of the parliament on both sides raised him to the skies, the English poets praised his triumphs, and the populace burnt the effigies of his crowned enemies on the public places. This national disposition however could never reconcile in Frederic's breast the political sins of the court of St. James.

The King in the mean time made use of the armistice, which respected the Prussian and Austrian provinces only, to send a corps of ten thousand men into the empire. He intended to force the imperial cities to a neutrality. General Kleist, commander of the Hussars, received orders to direct the expedition. He soon appeared in Franconia, took Bamberg and several other important places. After levying heavy contributions, he marched towards Nuremberg, which surrendered immediately by capitulation, paid one million five hundred thousand dollars, and gave up the contents of the arsenal. Kleist, during these operations, kept his hussars in action. They were every where, exacting contributions and spreading terror as far as the borders of the Danube. In those southern provinces of the empire they knew the Prussian troops by their name only. Behind the walls of cities they laughed at the appearance of small troops of light horse. But they soon beheld these hussars dismounting and storming of whole cities, in which manner Windheim and Rotenburgh were taken. The armed citizens left their ramparts, opened the gates, and paid exorbitant contributions.

The Austrians viewed these operations with indifference; but at last orders were given at Vienna to oppose them. A strong corps came from Bohemia, and formed a junction with the army of the Empire, under the command of Prince Stolberg. This army now entered Franconia, and Prince Xavier approached with a strong body of Saxon and French troops from another quarter. Kleist, too weak to engage so large an army, retreated and arrived safely in Saxony, loaded with money, cannon and hostages.

The princes of the empire now manifested their desire for peace. Bavaria gave of this, the most convincing proofs: for the Electoral troops took possession of the passes of the Danube, and opposed the passage to the Austrians. They in the month of January, separated from the troops of the empire, and marched to their own country. Meklenburg had, in December, already concluded a separate peace with Prussia.

1763.—With these operations of the Prussians in the empire, ended the war. Maria Theresa was now more disposed for peace. The hope of conquering Silesia, had, since the discontinuance of hostilities between Prussia, Sweden, and Russia, entirely vanished; and war was continued but

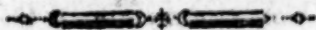
for honour's sake. On the part of Austria, however, preparations were made to take possession of all the provinces which the French had occupied ; and the latter not being bound by their treaty with England to restore those countries to the Prussians, were inclined to give them up to the Austrians. The departure of the French, therefore, was deferred till an Austrian army had assembled near Ruremonde. But Frederic, who now was not at a loss for soldiers, took effectual measures, and detached a strong corps to Westphalia ; whereby Theresa's plan became frustrated ; the French not being disposed to support it by force of arms.

The desire of continuing the war grew daily weaker at Vienna. Frederic, who was now again in possession of the kingdom of Prussia and Westphalia, seemed after seven campaigns, without allies or subsidies, to be as formidable as ever. It was expected soon to see him again with his armies in Bohemia. Theresa found herself with her armies alone, without allies in the field, after all the members of the empire, tired of the war, and terrified by the late invasion of the Prussians, had recalled their troops. Her treasury was exhausted, and all other necessities were extremely scarce. But Frederic seemed not to be in want of any thing. He never negotiated loans, either abroad or at home ; and, what is still more astonishing, he never laid any new imposts during the whole war on his subjects. Germany had during this war suffered in the highest degree. Whole circles were devastated ; and others suffered almost as much by the total stagnation of trade ; notwithstanding the streams of money which were poured into that country from France, England, and Sweden, either by the armies, or by subsidies. Those sums were computed at five hundred millions of rix-dollars. All Lower Pomerania, and part of Brunswick, were converted into deserts. Other provinces were nearly in the same situation ; they being either entirely deprived of inhabitants or at least of men. In large tracts of land, not a vestige of former culture was discoverable. An officer observed in one of his letters, that he passed seven villages in Hesse, and discovered but one man, a clergyman, whom he found cooking beans.

The 15th of February put an end to this universal calamity. Peace was on that day concluded on the castle of Hubertsburg in Saxony, the diet of Ratisbon having two days

before declared itself neutral. By this peace all the provinces taken on either side were restored. After seven bloody campaigns, therefore, things were in the same situation as before. The aims of Frederic's enemies were entirely frustrated. The Hero, whose ruin seemed to be inevitable in the eyes of all mortals, and who himself expected an overthrow in the midst of all his triumphs, now made peace without losing a single village.

Thus ended this seven years war; one of the most important events that ever were recorded in the annals of the world; a war, which, rich in extraordinary and manifold scenes, deluded the expectations of the world and which will remain instructive to soldiers, statesmen and philosophers of all nations and all centuries.



MILITARY MEMOIRS AND MAXIMS.

Of Military Burials, from the General to a common Soldier.

THE funeral of a General, is saluted with three rounds of eleven pieces of cannon, four battalions, and six squadrons.

That of a Lieutenant-general, with three rounds of nine pieces of cannon, three battalions, and four squadrons.

That of a Major-general, with three rounds of seven pieces of cannon, two battalions, and three squadrons.

That of a Brigadier-general, with three rounds of five pieces of cannon, one battallion, and two squadrons.

That of a Colonel, by his own battalion, (or an equal number by detachment) with three rounds of small arms.

That of a Lieutenant Colonel, by three hundred men and Officers, with three rounds of small arms.

That of a Major, by two hundred men and Officers, with three rounds of small arms.

That of a Captain, by his own company, or seventy rank and file, with three rounds of small arms.

That of a Lieutenant, by a Lieutenant, one Serjeant, one drummer, one fifer, and thirty-six rank and file, with three rounds of small arms.

That of an Ensign, by an Ensign, one Serjeant, one drummer, and twenty-seven rank and file, with three rounds of small arms.

That of a Serjeant, by one Serjeant, and nineteen rank and file, with three rounds of small arms.

That of a Corporal, musician, private man, drummer, or fifer by one Serjeant and thirteen rank and file, with three rounds of small arms.

All Officers attending the funerals, of even their nearest relations, wear their regimentals, and only have a piece of black crape round their left arm.

The pall should be supported by Officers of the same rank with that of the deceased; if that number cannot be had, Officers next in seniority are to supply their place.

A non-commissioned Officer's corpse should be attended to the grave by the non-commissioned Officers of the regiment, and private men of the troop or company to which he did belong.

Directions for a Funeral Party.

THE party (according to the rank of the deceased) appointed to escort the corpse to the grave, is to draw up with open ranks, facing the house or marquee where it is lodged; and when the corpse is brought out of the house, or marquee, the Officer commanding the party will order.

Rest your firelocks.

Reverse your firelocks.

Rear ranks close to the front.

March.

On which the ranks close.

To the right wheel by division.

March

They wheel into two or more divisions, according to their strength. The Officer or Officers will then reverse their espartoos, and the eldest post himself in the rear.

Halt.

The party stands fast till all is ready; when the Officer will order

March.

The party then marches off, led by the youngest Officer, and opens ranks; the corpse following the party; and the drums

being muffled, beating the dead march, and fifers playing a solemn tune. When it comes to the burial ground, the Officer orders

Halt.

And the party stands fast.

Ranks to the right and left, wheel backwards.

March.

Each rank being told off, wheels back; one half to the right, the other to the left; and form a lane.

Rest on your arms reversed.

They come to the funeral posture. The corpse, &c. then pass through the lane, and he orders

Rest your firelocks.

Shoulder your firelocks.

To the right and left, wheel and form your ranks.

March.

They wheel up, and form as before.

Rear ranks close to the front.

March.

The rear ranks of each division close up.

Divisions to the right, or left wheel.

March.

They wheel.

Halt.

They stand fast.

March.

They march till they come to the grave.

Halt.

They stand fast.

Rear ranks, to your proper distance.

They go to the right about.

March.

They march five or ten paces.

Front.

They come to their front.

When the Adjutant gives the Officer commanding the party a signal, he orders

Make ready.

Present.

They present in the air.

Fire.

They fire a volley, which is to be repeated three times. After the third time they stand recovered. He then orders

Half Cock.

Shoulder.

Shut your pans.

Rear ranks close to the front.

March.

They close.

To the right, wheel by division.

March.

They wheel again in two or more divisions.

Halt.

They stand fast.

March.

The Commanding officer leads the first division, the rest following in their usual posts. They open their ranks, the drums beat, and fifers play. When drawn up on the regimental parade, he orders,

Recover your arms.

To the right about.

March.

And the men go to their quarters.

Of a Commandant commanding a Corps.

"DISCIPLINE and subordination (inseparable from each other) can never subsist in a corps, but where the capacity of the commandant is sufficient to maintain it, by a strict and exact attention to every circumstance."

Conduct, on many occasions, is as necessary as courage; an officer can never have too many virtues, too much knowledge or experience: he should have affability to gain the affections of his corps; and, by the influence of example, occasion a perfect harmony to subsist among them: he must have sufficient address to acquire their good opinion; and confidence and resolution to support discipline with unshaken firmness; but if, on the other hand, the young or unexperienced officer inadvertantly commits a fault, he, as his superior, should reprimand him in private, with calmness and solidity; which, in general, will have its proper effect; for the severity of an arrest, is a thing of so serious a nature, as nothing but the severity of the service ought to justify.

A good commandant will exert himself in administering strict justice to every one with the greatest disinterestedness; for which purpose, when vacancies happen, his interest, as their patron and benefactor, should be used to promote the succession of all his officers in rotation, except those whose incapacity or misconduct may render them unworthy of his favour: such he must, at all events, endeavor to get rid of by obliging them to resign.

He ought to be well acquainted with the strength and detail of his corps, and thoroughly master of all manœuvres and principles of the military art. The despising of foes, the want of intelligence, and of reconnoitring and flanking parties, have been the sole cause of many a defeat, and often occasions a shameful, precipitate retreat, even from an inferior force.

The commandant should have a particular attention to the arms, accoutrements, cloathing, and all other appointments of his corps; that the accounts are kept regular, complaints immediately redressed, the sick well attended, and particular care taken of them. He should never put his captains to a superfluous expence for the ornaments of a soldier; but content himself with what is proper and has a military appearance; nor permit the officer commanding in his absence to change the officers uniform, or spare the stock-purse to raise men to mend the corps.

He should drum out, with infamy, by sentence of a court-martial, such men as are of a dishonest, quarrelsome, or mutinous disposition; and give marks of his liberality to those who distinguish themselves in the time of danger; for rewards are as needful as punishments; by the one they are led on to glorious actions, by the other they are deterred from committing base ones.

When the corps is under arms, or where the good of the service is concerned, the commandant ought to remember, that he is answerable for the good order and discipline of it and therefore should oblige every officer to a strict performance of his duty.

Of a Major.

The Major of a corps, "requires many accomplishments.

He should be active, vigilant, and well acquainted with the strength of the battalion and details of the army; attentive that his regiment is not detached out of roster; and have a perfect knowledge of the exercise, and all manœuvres.

He must draw up the battalion, and conduct it wherever he is ordered.

He is to be mounted, with his sword drawn, at the head of the grenadiers, when the regiment is marching by files, companies, sub, or grand divisions: when the battalion is prepared for the charge, his post is then in the rear of the first right hand grand division.

The multiplicity of details which he is charged with, requires the utmost attention, to keep them clear and free from confusion: he should be master of the attack and defence of fortified places, as sometimes a command of that nature may fall upon him.

"This post should be filled with men who are able to command and attract respect; and the more he shews to his superiors, the more he will receive from his inferiors; so that the Major who would implant the respect due to him in the breast of his officer, cannot proceed on a better method to establish subordination, than by shewing a proper deference to his Colonel-commandant, or those in rank above him."

Of a Captain.

THE first object of a Captain, is to gain the love and affection of the soldiers of his company, by being present when the non-commissioned officers and private men are accounted with for their arrears and stoppages; visiting them often, either in barracks, camp, quarters, infirmary, or hospital; see them properly taken care of when sick, and reward such as are exact and well behaved. He should know every man of his company, by name and character; and inspect his company's arms, accoutrements, ammunition, cloaths and necessaries once a week.

" If he is in garrison, he should be punctual in executing all the orders he shall receive, if in the field, he should apply himself to the well disposing of any command he may be entrusted with ; a small post advantageously occupied, or an entrenchment judiciously thrown up, will make him appear capable of more important matters. If employed in a siege, he should command a party of workmen, endeavour to inspire them by his *example*, and always appear at their head. The more exalted the station, the more requisite the example to inspire the irresolute with firmness, and the timorous with fortitude. In the day of battle, his calm intrepidity should excite a confidence in his company. An intrepid courage, conducted by reason, is the most faithful companion of a soldier, among the dangers which his profession exposes him to.

Of a Lieutenant.

THE Lieutenant, in the Captains absence, commands the company, and is not only answerable to the service, *but to him also*, for the care and management of it ; nor is it at his choice to exchange any man from the company, but by the leave of the Commanding-officer of the corps, or his Captain.

He must pay a particular attention to the arms, accoutrements, ammunition, cloaths, necessaries, *and dress of the soldiers*, in short, to every circumstance which may contribute to their health, &c. oblige the Non-commissioned Officers, commanding squads, to give him a return every market-day, specifying the quantity, quality, and costs of provisions they have laid in ; all which he is then to examine, and see if they answer their returns.

He should visit the sick, to have them properly attended, and well taken care of ; attend roll-calling at least once a-day, and oblige the non-commissioned officers to give him an exact account every morning, wherein they are to insert all occurrences, which happened during the preceding twenty-four hours, that he may redress all complaints with readiness and exactness.

When on guard-party or other duty, he must observe the precautions taken by his captain, that he may be able to execute the same when he comes to command.

" There is nothing so necessary or just as that the lieutenant should act his own part, and endeavor to acquire a knowledge of the commission above him.

Of an Ensign.

HE should consider the trust and confidence reposed in him ; and, when he has the honor of carrying the colours in action, resolve rather to die than lose them : for courage is admired, and cowardice detested.

He should be attentive that the serjeants and corporals support a proper authority ; but this is to be done with decency and good order.

Honor is the peculiar characteristic of an officer ; consequently, all our actions should be guided by it ; a man of true honor would rather exert his patience than his courage, except in defence of his country.

Sobriety is very becoming in all officers ; it will preserve our health and understanding, and entitles us to a respectful regard from our superiors. On the other hand, drunkenness will weaken the mind, and ruin the constitution.

Attention in duty is both proper and commendable ; it will improve our minds, and cultivate our understandings ; though at first it may seem severe, yet if we do it calmly and cheerfully, a little perseverance will conquer what seemed so difficult.

" The respect we owe to superiors, demands particular attention ; we can never receive their advice with too much politeness and docility. A young officer should always behave with politeness, and put a kind of restraint on his words and actions : he should endeavor to oblige every body to the utmost of his power, but without a mean studied affectation, or cringing."

Nothing will recommend us sooner to the favor of a general, than having gained preferment by merit ; time, experience, and a proper attention, are the sure paths to honour. By such a conduct, we will add to reputation, and confirm our characters.

The Adjutant

IS to do no other duty than that of adjutant. He is to see all detachments before they are sent to the general parade ; that their arms are clean ; their ammunition, accoutrements, &c. in good order ; and that a serjeant be sent with them to the parade. He is also to keep an exact detail of the duty of every one in the regiment ; viz. of all detach-

ments, court-martials, sick gone to, or returned from the hospital; soldiers deserted, dead, entertained from year to year, discharged, or absent by leave; that a return be given in every morning to the Commanding-officer, in the usual method, and to the Major of Brigade (if in camp) once a week, to be delivered to the General; that they always take care to send their sick to the infirmary, or general hospital; and that their arms and accoutrements are taken care of. He must keep an exact list of duties with the Majors of Brigade, that they may see justice performed, and be able to tell every one when he is near duty, that he may keep in camp, and provide accordingly.

An Adjutant must keep constantly to the rules and forms of discipline now in use, and on no pretence whatever change or let fall any of the said customs till farther orders.

When a detachment is sent out, a Serjeant may accompany any number under twenty, and a Subaltern may head any between ten and thirty. As the number of men encrease, so must the Officers. A Captain may command from fifty to an hundred. One Captain, three Subalterns, and four Serjeants, accompany one hundred men; and so in proportion to greater numbers.

“To be able to command men properly, we ought first to know them, to have seen them in different stations, to watch the most minute movement of their souls, to distinguish their talents, to form and employ them apropos. There is no profession in which all this is so absolutely necessary, as that of arms; it is impossible for a man who fails in these respects to command a discipline; that is to say, to form soldiers for the most laborious and fatiguing exercises; to wean them from any kind of will or opinion, to reduce them to an obedience the most exact and implicit, and from stubborn clowns to form machines only animated by the voice of their Officers,” beats of the drum, or sounds of the fife. Every one certainly has not these talents; a man may be alert in his business and expert in conducting a march, commanding a company or even a regiment, but yet very far from being able to make a perfect Adjutant. It is therefore evident, that the discipline of men should not be trusted but to sensible and experienced Officers.

Of the Quarter-Master.

THE Quarter-master, though he should have another commission, is to do no duty but that of Quarter-master. He ought to be an honest careful man, exact at his pen, and a good accomptant ; very well skilled in the detail of a regiment ; and perfectly acquainted with every individual circumstance of its duty and finances.

In garrison, he is always to be employed in seeing the quarters kept clean, and receive all things belonging to the vivres, infirmary, or hospital ; provide all the camp equipage ; and, on all distributions of carriages, provisions, and materials for work, receive and distribute them according to order. He must keep exact accounts, and return what is necessary or ordered, that the regiment may not be answerable for what is missing. He must be very careful in inspecting the bread and provisions, that no unwholesome food be received, and no deliveries made but in just time. Beside which, there are a great many things belonging to this employ that cannot be recited here, and happen without rule ; in which case, ancient customs and the rules of war, must be followed."

Of Soldiers.

" A SOLDIER should be brave, vigorous, careful, and obedient to all his Officers, from the General to the Corporal ; and obey the orders of the latter as if coming from the mouth of the former, as in reality they do ; the Corporal being the only means by which they are conveyed. He should take care that his uniform, as well as other apparel, be neat and clean ; his arms and accoutrements bright and in good order, the use of which he ought diligently to study and also all his different duties ; he should be master of all the beats of the drum and tunes of the fife, and instantly obey them ; he should diligently attend his colours on all occasions : the limitation of his furlough should be religiously observed : his time for food and sleep regulated, not by his will, but by his leisure. When sentry, he should be alert, and observe his orders exactly and inviolably ; ask no reasons for them, or dare to think them of little importance.

" The Officer should instil into the heart of a soldier, that obedience is the foundation of regularity and order ; that, by this, discipline is maintained : by this, great de-

signs are executed ; and, without it, all is confusion and disorder."

The first thing that soldiers are to be taught is the military step ; which can only be acquired by a constant practice of marching quick or slow to together. It is of consequence on the march, or in the line, that they keep their ranks well dressed, for men who march in an irregular manner, are in disorder ; and, if fallen upon by the enemy, must be defeated. Nothing is more essential ; for a man may be attacked in four parts ; in the front, in the rear, and on both flanks ; but he can defend himself, and, annoy the enemy, only when his face is turned towards them.

Marching is reduced to three points ; front, and both sides ; (because it is impossible to do it regular, or for any time, backwards) and by this means we may face the enemy wherever it presents itself. The different steps to be used are three ; slow, fast, and oblique ; which may be termed traversing.

The first is proper in advancing upon the enemy, when the ground is unequal, that the line may not be broken : the second is chiefly necessary, when we want to anticipate the enemy in occupying some post, or passing a defile ; or, above all, in attacking a retrenchment, to avoid being a long while exposed to the fire of the artillery and small arms : and lastly, when we come near the enemy, we must then advance with a bold fast step, have our bayonets fixed, and charge with vigor and vivacity.

Of Aids-de-Camp.

" AID-DE-CAMP are officers attached to the person of a general officer, to carry his orders. This employment is of great importance, and should never be intrusted to young men without experience and capacity.

The Marechal de Puysegur says, in his Art of War, on the subject of Aids de Camp, " That in the time of the great Prince of Condé and Marechal Turenne, the employment of Aid-de-Camp was always filled with officers of character. The reason is, that in a battle, a moment may change the face of affairs ; insomuch that though an order sent by the General for an inferior officer to act in such or such a manner, and which was properly given, with respect to the

situation of the action at that moment, yet, before the Aid-de-Camp arrives and delivers it, the actual state of the action may be so far changed, as that the order becomes improper. It is therefore necessary, that he who carries it, has comprehended the spirit in which the General meant it, and takes care not to deliver it in such a positive manner, as to oblige him who receives it to act up to the letter of the order, and not to leave him liberty to change it." The Marechal says, he saw a battle lost, because an Aid-de-camp had, upon a false representation of the local made to the General, been sent to him who commanded the right wing, to order him to change his ground; who, knowing the strength of it, tried to argue the matter, but to no purpose; the Aid-de-camp delivered the positive order, and the Commander was obliged to obey: the enemy immediately possessed themselves of his advantageous post, and by that means won the battle.

Method of sending for Colours.

THE officers having taken their posts, the colours are thus to be sent for: viz.

The Major orders the drummers and fifers to beat and play the drummer's call; which is a warning for the officers who carry the colors, the drummers and fifers. He then orders a flam; upon which the officers, drummers and fifers face to the right, the officers advancing their espontoons at the same time; and, on the immediate sound of another flam, they march to the head of the grenadiers, and turn to their proper front. The Captain then orders the company to advance their arms, and marches off.

So soon as the Captain comes to the place where the colours are lodged, he must draw up his company, and then give the following words of command.

Fix your bayonets.

Shoulder your firelocks.

When the Ensigns receive the colours, the Captain gives the word;

Present your arms.

Upon which the company present their arms, and the drummers and fifers beat and play a point of war; after which the Captain orders;

Shoulder your firelocks.

Advance your arms.

To the right (or left) wheel.

March.

They march back to the battalion, beating and playing.

When the colours approach the left flank of the battalion, the Commanding Officer orders, *Present your arms and face the battalion to the left*, the drummers and fifiers beating and playing a point of war. The Captain of grenadiers make two wheels to the left; who open their ranks in the second wheel, so as to be in a direct line with the ranks of the battalion. When the grenadiers halt, the music, drummers, and fifiers, cease; on which the Commanding Officer gives the word

To the right, as you were.

The whole face to the right; the Captain of grenadiers followed by his Lieutenant; behind whom the Ensigns, with the colours, move briskly to the right; the Officers and colours, march in front of the line of Officers: the fifiers and drummers between the Officers and front rank of the battalion; the front rank of grenadiers between the front and center of the battalion; and the rear rank along the rear rank of the battalion. When the Ensigns come to the center of the battalion, they are to fall in, and dress with the line of Officers. The grenadiers, having returned to their post on the right, get the words of command from their Captain.

Turn to the front.

Halt.

Shoulder your firelocks.

Unfix your bayonets.

Shoulder.

THE END.

I N D E X.

	PAGE
T HE Seven Years war in Germany, continued,	3
Instructions for the Inspectors of Infantry, by the late	
King of Prussia,	15
New Principles of Tactics,	18
Military Memoirs and Maxims,	20
Of the Column,	ibid
The American War, continued,	23
Transactions in Europe, and the West-Indies, connected with	
the American Revolution,	47
Seventh Campaign, 1787,	53
Military Memoirs and Maxims,	
Of Subordination,	57
Of the Retreat,	58
Of the Exercise,	62
Of the Qualifications necessary in a Partizan,	63
Of the different Military Orders,	65
Memoirs of the Life of Marshal Turenne,	71
Anecdotes,	76
Ranking and Sizing,	78
The Seven Years War, continued,	79
The American War, continued,	97
Eight Campaign,	135
An Historical account of the Siege of Stralsund, in 1715,	143
An account of the Escape of king Stanislaus from Dantzick,	148
Memoirs of Gen. Kosciusko,	161
The Seven Years war in Germany, continued,	186
Military Memoirs and Maxims,	203
Of Military Burials	ibid
Directions for a Funeral Party,	204
Of a Commandant, commanding a Corps,	206
Of a Major,	208
Of a Captain,	ibid
Of a Lieutenant,	209
Of an Ensign,	210
The Adjutant,	ibid
Of the Quarter-Master,	212
Of Soldiers,	ibid
Of Aids-de-Camp,	213
Method of sending for Colors,	214



